

OCTOBER, 1963

THE INTERNATIONAL
Teamster
DEDICATED TO SERVICE

DRIVE

**FOURTH
ANNIVERSARY
ISSUE**



Democratic Republican Independent Voter Education



The
Teamsters
Salute

MIAMI

MIAMI, Florida, the nation's southernmost major city, 44th-ranking with a 1960 census of 282,600, is experiencing a new boom backed up with solid homebuilding and industrial plants. "The Magic City" is now the center of a metropolitan area which numbers about a million permanent residents.

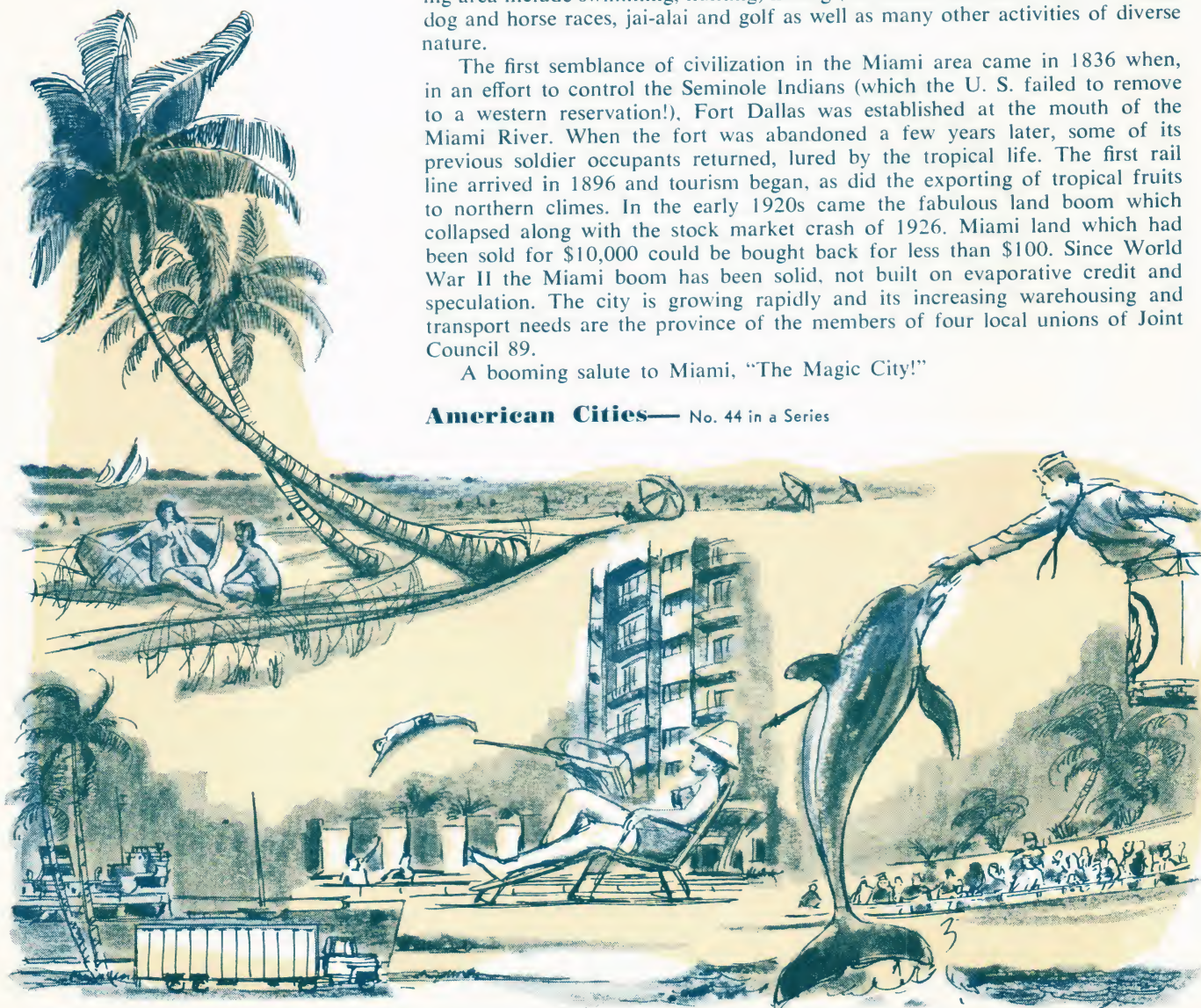
Added to these must be the more than five million tourists who visit the lush tropical resort annually. Airlines and cruise ships do a rushing business. But tourism is strongly backstopped by a growing Miami industrialism. The "Made in Miami" label is becoming better-known nationwide as it applies to resort wear, aircraft parts, chemicals, cosmetics, drugs, fabrics, fabricated metals, furniture, paper products and plastics. The single largest employer of all the more than 2,750 industries now operating in Miami is Eastern Airlines, which maintains a large terminal and repair facility at International Airport, one of the busiest airports in the nation.

Great attractions for tourists and conventioners in Miami and the surrounding area include swimming, hunting, fishing (both salt- and fresh-water), boating, dog and horse races, jai-alai and golf as well as many other activities of diverse nature.

The first semblance of civilization in the Miami area came in 1836 when, in an effort to control the Seminole Indians (which the U. S. failed to remove to a western reservation!), Fort Dallas was established at the mouth of the Miami River. When the fort was abandoned a few years later, some of its previous soldier occupants returned, lured by the tropical life. The first rail line arrived in 1896 and tourism began, as did the exporting of tropical fruits to northern climes. In the early 1920s came the fabulous land boom which collapsed along with the stock market crash of 1926. Miami land which had been sold for \$10,000 could be bought back for less than \$100. Since World War II the Miami boom has been solid, not built on evaporative credit and speculation. The city is growing rapidly and its increasing warehousing and transport needs are the province of the members of four local unions of Joint Council 89.

A booming salute to Miami, "The Magic City!"

American Cities— No. 44 in a Series



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THE INTERNATIONAL Teamster

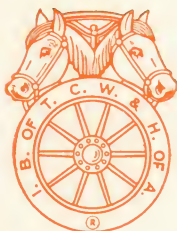
DEDICATED TO SERVICE

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Volume 60, No. 10

October, 1963

Executive Board Meets in Chicago <i>VP's put emphasis on DRIVE</i>	5
Central Conference Holds 9th Meet <i>Delegates look to politics</i>	6
DRIVE Was Born after Landrum-Griffin <i>Was battler as an infant</i>	9
\$3 Investment in Security <i>Questions and answers</i>	14
Structure of DRIVE <i>Family is heartbeat of DRIVE</i>	16
DRIVE in Action <i>A man-sized job to do</i>	19
DRIVE'S Accomplishments have been many <i>Young department started fast</i>	22
DRIVE Plans for the Future <i>Undertakes an ambitious program</i>	26
The Great Conversation <i>Women establish lines of communication</i>	30



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Political Challenge

FOUR YEARS ago this month, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters took one foot from underneath the bargaining table and planted it squarely in the political arena.

Our entrance into politics was not by choice, as this International Union has always been a "bread and butter" union. Jobs in the trade union movement are full-time jobs in themselves, if one is doing a job for the membership.

Unfortunately, however, it became very clear to all that what had been gained for the membership in wages, hours and conditions at the bargaining table and on the picket line was being taken away by the political action of our enemies.

The simple logic was that while we concentrated on the bread and butter issues, no one had his eye on the anti-labor politician and the big business lobbyist.

Since this union has a reputation for getting things done, it was no surprise that our enemies would accuse us of using scare techniques to build a political machine. They hoped to keep us from getting a political organization off the ground.

Generally, the labor movement took the attitude that Landrum-Griffin would apply only to Teamsters, and there were Teamsters, too, who refused to believe that the killer bill was in the works.

Let's look to the record:

While our political and legislative department was still a babe in arms, we found that the Interstate Commerce Commission, a rate making body whose members are politically appointed, was permitting the railroads to engage in selective rate cutting to pirate away the car hauling business from truckers.

This meant that thousands of Teamster jobs were in danger. I went on a nation-wide telephone hookup to tell you of the problem, to urge support for S. 1197, a bill aimed at the heart of the destructive selective rate cutting.

The thousands of Teamsters who lost their jobs because of the ICC would hardly accuse me today of having used scare techniques when discussing their problem.



Next, we created a lot of noise concerning the Landrum-Griffin Act when it was being considered by Congress.

I predicted that if Landrum-Griffin were to become law—which it did—it would make strikebreakers of every union man and woman in America. A decision of the National Labor Relations Board early this year stripped our contracts of provisions which protected our members when respecting the picket line of a brother unionist.

We made a lot of noise about two other provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act. We predicted that if the bonding provisions became law—which they did—the cost of bonding union officers would skyrocket. Look at any union

financial report and you will see this is true. We also predicted that duly elected officials of a labor organization could serve only at the mercy of bonding companies. You'll remember the trouble this International Union had securing bonding early this year when one company cancelled our bonds even though our record was the envy of the labor movement.

We predicted that Landrum-Griffin would seriously encroach on our right of free speech and freedom of the press. In the so-called Tree Fruits case, a local union of ours was enjoined from publicizing with picket signs the unfair tactics of one of our employers. We won this on appeal, but now the National Labor Relations Board has gone to the Supreme Court seeking to restrict our rights to the obscure and out-of-the-way confines of an apple orchard in Washington State.

The record shows that our noises were made over serious concern for our rights and it shows that our concern was not merely a scare technique.

Next, our legislative director testified that any expansion of trade by this country should have built in safeguards against the destruction of American jobs by imports. Thirty-five thousand steel workers are jobless today because of foreign imports of steel.

We've been quite vocal pointing out not only the dangers of compulsory arbitration, but the threat that compulsory arbitration would be made the law of the land. On August 28th of this year, Congress passed and the President signed a compulsory arbitration bill

applicable to the railroad unions. If the Bonner Bill becomes law, and hearings have already been held, it will give the President as a last step the right to go to congress for compulsory arbitration powers in the maritime industry.

We have hardly been building straw men to knock down in the area of compulsory arbitration. We live with the reality today.

We have long declared that automation unchecked, and automation in which the employer takes all the benefits is a serious social problem. As far back as April 12, 1961, Executive Vice President Harold J. Gibbons went before a House committee and pleaded that a sense of urgency and priority be attached to the problem of automation.

Yet, today, we don't know whether skilled or unskilled workers are being replaced, we don't have any idea of the scope of joblessness from automation, and we can't get management to reveal what they are doing in the way of automating their plants. They say these are business secrets, that profit might be affected, and the problem compounds itself daily while we wallow in ignorance about one of our major problems.

The man thrown out of work by a machine does not accuse the Teamsters Union of having used scare techniques to dramatize the automation dilemma.

Then, we have pointed to the increasing danger of the interference of the Kennedy Administration in the collective bargaining process. We have deplored the interference of Kennedy guidelines on wage increases—guidelines entirely unrealistic and unrelated to the needs of those trying to feed, clothe and house a family on an hourly rate.

We have deplored the constant appointment of a board or a commission to render a recommendation favoring one side or another. Once the recommendation is made public, the favored party quits bargaining, and government has thrown a monkey wrench in the collective bargaining process.

We have constantly tried to alert the American public to the erosion of their civil liberties by an attorney general who carries the nickname on capitol hill of "brass knuckles and diapers."

He has sponsored wire tapping bills, obstruction of justice bill which subverts basic freedoms, an immunity bill which forces men to testify against themselves. He has shopped around for courts of law where he thought he could secure a conviction, he has juggled indictments and pressured federal judges to juggle the court docket.

These are some of the things which have concerned us here at the International Union, where we are in a position to know that it is nearly impossible, today to win a small strike under today's laws and atmosphere.

We have seen things change until it is difficult indeed to administer the affairs of a union—which is a voluntary association—with government officials having unlimited access to records and books without even having to show probable cause of wrong doing.

So, we are not concerned with those who accuse us of using scare techniques. The record is on our side, even if the political advantage is not. For the moment, the facts are with us.

This is why we say it is vitally important for every member of this international union—and his wife—to become active in politics through DRIVE.

The record proves that our campaign to activate the rank-and-file politically is based on facts so hard and so cruel that time is no longer on our side.

Yet, DRIVE is a going concern. Our DRIVE Ladies Auxiliaries across the Nation are active and effective. Our Jo Hoffa luncheons and banquets draw crowds of more than 5000 into a single hall. Our Motocades to Washington have been called the most effective lobbying job being done today in the Nation's Capitol.

But, we need every member of this International Union to stem the anti-union tide. The National Association of Manufacturers has brazenly set 1966 as its target date for passage of anti-trust laws applicable to labor. If they succeed in this destructive technique, your International Union cannot even pay you strike benefits, your area conference will not be able to protect your pension trusts and your health and welfare benefits. You will bargain alone at contract time.

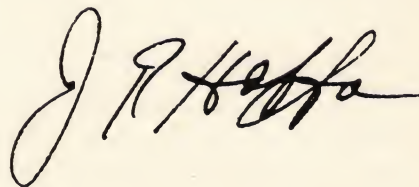
On this Fourth Anniversary of DRIVE, we are beginning a major membership campaign. If you are a member of DRIVE, work for 100 per cent DRIVE membership in your plant. If you are not a member of DRIVE, join today.

Join one of the DRIVE leadership programs in your local union. We must have an intelligent, informed and alert leadership among the rank-and-file.

Our program for 1964—an election year—calls for an intensified voter registration and get-out-the-vote program. Get registered if you are not. Strive to have 100 per cent voter registration in your plant.

Another goal of DRIVE is selected target areas which you recommend where the likelihood of DRIVE gains are greatest and results can have importance to DRIVE objectives. Your 100 per cent support of DRIVE is vital if this goal is to be achieved.

To be successful, any program must be adequately financed. Union dues money cannot be used to support candidates for congressional or senatorial offices. Won't you join DRIVE today so that we will be able to support our friends and defeat our enemies. We can win Family Security through Family Teamwork—and the instrument is DRIVE.





Sidney Zagri

POLITICS IS KEY TO UNION SURVIVAL

(The following is excerpted from an address by Sidney Zagri, Executive Director of DRIVE, to the Ninth Annual Central Conference of Teamsters, Palmer House, Chicago, September 13, 1963.)

Four years ago tomorrow, the Landrum-Griffin Act was passed and became the law of the land.

We live with this anti-labor legislation today because four years ago, the labor movement in this country was not prepared to take a solid position with its so-called liberal friends.

The problem we faced then—with so-called liberals and friends of labor voting for the Landrum-Griffin Act—was “where does labor go from here.”

And the answer was simply, as Senator Wayne Morse put it:

“To make a target of one or two of these so-called friends of labor, and show them that labor can carry out effective police raids against their houses of political prostitution.” When labor does that liberals will take notice and will stand up and respect labor’s position. But as of today labor has no standing in the Halls of Congress.”

Today, we face 1964, a year when we are closer to the hour of decision in political action than at any time in American labor history, in the entire history of a free society.

I say this because of the disbelievers, AFL-CIO and in our own

ranks who said: “Landrum-Griffin will not hurt us.” Yet, our general president was correct when he said to President Kennedy:

“The law that you are seeking to pass will make strike-breakers out of every Teamster and everyone in the American Labor movement.” The National Labor Relations Board decision given just three months ago proves Jimmy Hoffa right.

Now, for the first time, we have compulsory arbitration in the railroad dispute, and while it was debated we had shades of labor’s position on Landrum-Griffin all over again—a divided labor movement, yes, even a divided labor movement among the railroad unions. And the same congressmen who double talked us into the Landrum-Griffin bill double talked us into the compulsory arbitration in the rail dispute, telling our motorcades that they opposed such arbitration but that they “had to vote for it.”

The afternoon we heard that the railroad arbitration was a one-shot deal, Congressman Robert Griffin, of Landrum-Griffin infamy, was calling for an investigation into Teamsters plans for negotiating a national freight agreement. Are we to expect another one-shot deal—this time by the government and employers in the trucking industry?

How much more experience do we

have to have to realize that we are dead as a labor movement unless we become alive politically?

Your General President and general executive board have adopted a political action program for 1964. But ultimately it will fail unless the business agent and the steward recognize it as their basic responsibility to inform, to organize, and to act.

As we face 1964, the opportunity is ours. All we need do is exercise our political rights. In Minnesota, a governor was elected in 1962 by 92 votes, in Massachusetts the governor was elected by 232 votes, and President Kennedy slipped by in 1960 with less than one vote per precinct. Teamsters represent more than 5 million votes if we organize. So we hold the balance in almost any election in the nation.

With this opportunity we have the responsibility to be informed on the issues and the candidates. It is our responsibility to organize in the precinct as if we were organizing for the greatest strike of our lives.

It is our responsibility to act, to register to vote, get out the vote, as management does. It is our responsibility to run for office in the political party of our choice.

Your employer bargains with you because you can shut down his place of business. Your politician will bargain with you when you are politically strong enough to shut down his political playhouse.

We must get DRIVE on the road for the 1964 elections NOW. Get your workshops underway, intensify registration, intensify the DRIVE membership campaign. Time is short. The primaries are upon us. There is much work to be done.

Whether you like it or not, if it is right we will carry it out, because ultimately the salvation of our Union is going to be the product of the work of our political action and legislative department—DRIVE.—James R. Hoffa to the 9th Annual Central Conference of Teamsters.

STATE OF THE UNION

Teamster Executive Board Puts Emphasis on DRIVE

A TWO-DAY meeting of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters general executive board at the Palmer House in Chicago, last month, put its emphasis on DRIVE, the political and legislative arm of the union.

Although routine housekeeping chores occupied most of the time of Teamster President James R. Hoffa, Secretary-Treasurer John F. English, and the 13 vice-presidents, each problem discussed seemed to have a political implication.

President Hoffa, in his report to the board, called the International Union's entry into negotiations for a nationwide agreement in over-the-road and local cartage "the most important undertaking in which this International Union has ever engaged."

And he immediately pointed out that the negotiations for a nationwide agreement have a political implication with Congressman Robert Griffin (of Landrum-Griffin infamy) already having called for a congressional inquiry into such an agreement with the trucking industry. Griffin made his remarks following a two-day meeting of Teamsters in Washington, in August, at which the national bargaining pattern was overwhelmingly approved.

Throughout the deliberations, all discussions seemed to reemphasize for executive board members what has been evident to them for quite some time—that collective bargaining has shifted from the give-and-take of the bargaining table to the deal and double-deal of national politics.

Reports of the Teamster legal department and the legislative and political action department (DRIVE) interwove, with examples of damage suits being the result of anti-labor legislation which could have been defeated if working people had been politically

alert and politically active.

Reports of proposed legislation indicated that more and more time would have to be spent by local union officers in the nation's court rooms. It became evident from listening to the lawyers that the local union officer who is intent upon giving his membership good representation should not be surprised to find himself face to face with one of the nation's many, many restrictive labor laws.

For the first time in the history of collective bargaining in this country, the general executive board met under the black cloud of compulsory arbitration established by legislative action in the Congress and implemented by the signature of President John F. Kennedy.

Compulsory arbitration was now a reality, and board members discussed

the limited railroad union-carrier compulsory arbitration in those terms, instead of dealing with just the possibility of forced settlement of a labor management dispute.

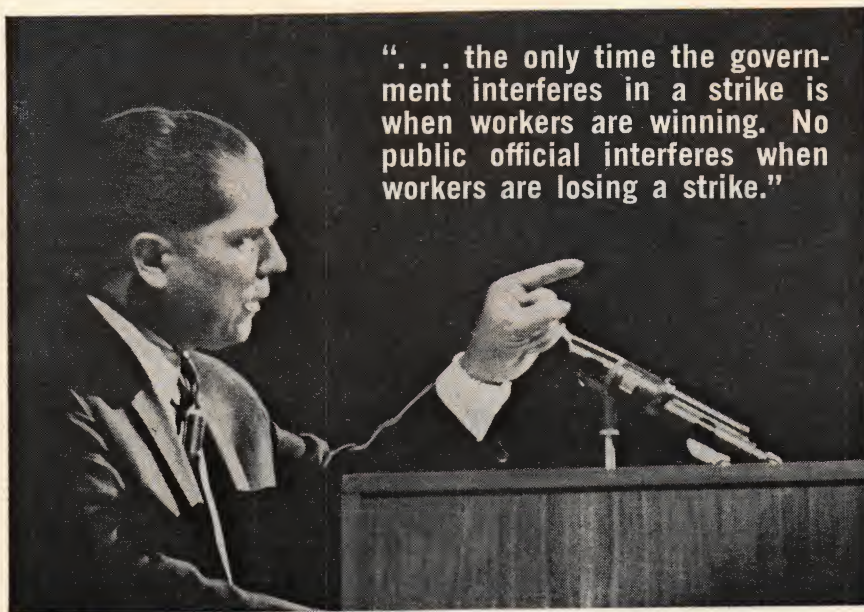
One could get a difference of opinion among Teamster executive board members of just how long it will take, but all are agreed that unless laboring people arise to the political challenge, the life of labor unions will be prolonged or cut short in direct proportion to the zeal of labor's enemies.

Teamster President Hoffa presented a keen interpretation of the political climate when he declared:

"We'll have compulsory arbitration of disputes whenever the working man is winning his strike. But no one has ever seen the government come to the rescue of a working man who was losing a strike against his employer."

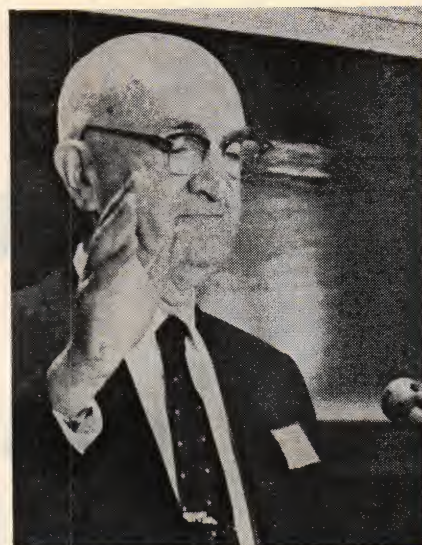
Teamster general executive board in session in the Palmer House, Chicago, last month.





James R. Hoffa

"... the only time the government interferes in a strike is when workers are winning. No public official interferes when workers are losing a strike."



John F. English
Addressed Conference

Central Conference Holds 9th Annual

THE 9th ANNUAL Central Conference of Teamsters met last month at the Palmer House in Chicago, with the freight division endorsing the goal of a national agreement in freight.

Otherwise, the major emphasis of the Conference meeting was on political action.

The Conference reelected its incumbent policy committee, increased per capita tax from local unions from a nickel to a dime per month per

member, and adopted several resolutions—one which amounted to a Declaration of Principles in the political area.

The opening general session of the conference was highlighted by addresses by both Teamster President James R. Hoffa who is also conference director, and by John F. English, International Union general secretary-treasurer.

The closing general session was addressed by Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Democrat, who added the legislative dressing to the political

theme which was woven throughout the Conference.

Delegates concluded the three-day meeting with a resolution praising the leadership of Hoffa at both the International and Conference level. Delegates interrupted the reading of the resolution time after time in a wild, emotional demonstration which underscored their faith in Hoffa and dramatized Hoffa's popularity among the leadership at the local union and joint council level.

In his opening address, Hoffa painted a frightening picture of gov-

CCT Elects Policy Committee

Delegates to the 9th Annual Central Conference of Teamsters, in Chicago, last month, re-elected its incumbent policy committee without opposition. Members of the committee are:

James R. Hoffa, chairman; John T. O'Brien, vice chairman; Harold J. Gibbons, secretary-treasurer; Gordon Conklin, Frank Fitzsimmons, and Roy Williams.

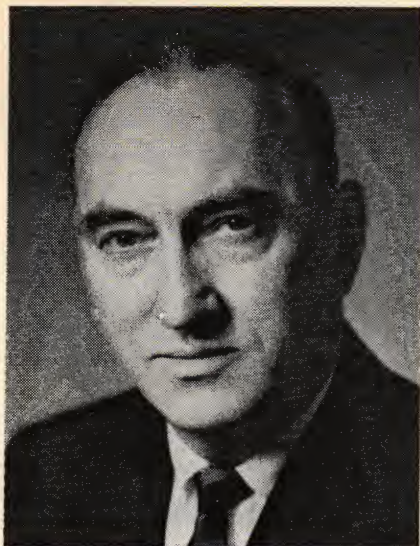
O'Brien, Gibbons, Conklin, and Fitzsimmons, are International Union vice presidents. Roy Williams is an International Union general organizer.

Gordon Conklin
Policy Committee



Roy Williams
Policy Committee

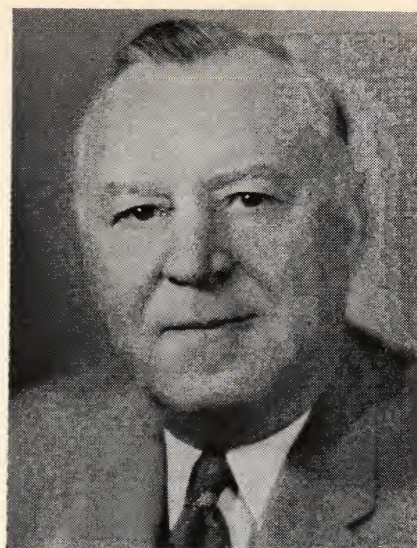




Harold Gibbons
Policy Committee



Frank Fitzsimmons
Policy Committee



John O'Brien
Policy Committee

Meeting

ernment intervention in the collective bargaining process. Said Hoffa:

"The U. S. Government, through legislative encroachment, is slowly taking away the right to hold meetings such as this. It is becoming more and more difficult to operate an International Union. Many leaders of the labor movement are giving up the fight.

"Labor laws today are so restrictive it is almost impossible to win a small strike. Delays of the National Labor Relations Board are making it nearly impossible to organize the unor-

ganized, and legal expenses of running a union are crippling our treasuries," Hoffa declared.

"Because of the legal maze through which government sends union business today, workers are becoming confused and disturbed," Hoffa stated.

"Politicians today are no different today than they have ever been. Law enforcement officers, at the whisper of an executive officer, go into action against workers with night sticks and billy clubs.

"But no one ever sees government moving in to help when a working man is losing his strike against his employer. Government only moves in when the worker is winning his point on the picket line, and then government moves in on the side of

the employer," Hoffa charged.

The fiery Teamster president had plenty of scorn for the government's attitude during the civil rights march on Washington, D. C. Hoffa called the troops the "mightiest force ever assembled in Washington."

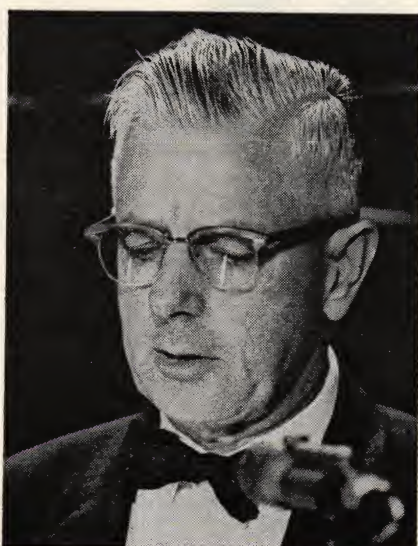
He ridiculed the Administration's inability to interpret the mood of Americans with problems. He pointed out that the civil rights marchers were not to be dealt with as those whose purpose was to create a disturbance, but as Americans seeking jobs and freedom.

"They were marching to gain the respect that comes from being an employed American, and their government met them with military police, jeeps, weapons carriers, and walkie

Lawrence Steinberg
Political Committee



Frank Ranney
Rules Committee



Jack Jorgensen
Credentials Committee



talkies to speed the dispatch of armed troops at the smallest provocation."

Commenting on the job situation in the country today, Hoffa told Central States delegates:

"None of you can go back home and put five men to work through your local unions because there are no jobs. Yet, the employer is automated to such a degree that all he need do is throw a switch and be free of a strike, or the threat of automation destroys a strike and pushes workers back into the plant."

The Teamster president pointed out that automation is not just a threat to jobs in the industrial shops and factories of America. "It has hit even road building and extends all the way to building and sending a rocket to the moon.

"Stoop labor in the fields is being replaced by machines which pick, wash, package, ice and send crops off from the fields to market.

"Where it used to take 62 workers to build a mile of highway, this number will be reduced to less than half that in the next two years with the introduction of newer and bigger road building equipment," he said.

Answer Is DRIVE

Hoffa called the country a police state with an immature and vindictive attorney general in control.

He pointed out that one can hardly pick up a newspaper today without seeing a front page picture of a policeman with his arm around the neck and billy club in the ribs of a man, woman or child, dragging that person away to jail for expressing an opinion.

Hoffa deplored the action of the government recently before the House Un-American Activities Committee. He deplored the situation in which students were dragged out of the hearing room because they "dared disagree with a committee of Congress."

Hoffa said the students were treated as they would have been treated in Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia. And he wondered aloud before the delegates about the significance of the fact that supporters of George Lincoln Rockwell, the American Nazi leader, were left unmolested to heckle the students.

Hoffa said the students went to Cuba when they became convinced that newspapers, radio and TV were echoing only what government wants people to know about Cuba.

On the subject of compulsory arbi-

tration in the railroad dispute, Hoffa called it the beginning of the end unless the anti-labor tide is reversed.

He called political action the only answer. He urged greater and greater participation in DRIVE, the legislative and political arm of the Teamsters.

He pointed out that the Supreme

Court of the land okeys sit-ins or civil rights pickets, but outlaws or limits the economic pickets. Hoffa declared that it is possible to win the civil rights battle, but lose the civil rights war if there are no jobs on Armistice Day.

"We must become politically strong to stem the tide," Hoffa declared.

Good Old Days?

"In 1933, I was working day and night for \$50 a month and no conditions.

"As a Teamster, I now enjoy the best contract given any workingman in America.

"I don't want to go back to the miseries of 1933 and would gladly give more to fight any danger we might have in going back to those days."—*Brother Lois Ferguson, member of Teamster Local 373 in Ft. Smith, Ark.*

Support Sought For Pro-Labor Legislation

Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) in an address at the Central Conference of Teamsters biennial meeting called for organized labor to lend support to pro-labor measures now pending in Congress.



Morse, the featured speaker in the closing session of the meeting, described several bills he has introduced in the Senate and which are pending in committee. The proposals would amend the bonding provisions of the Landrum-Griffin law and alter the federal code of criminal procedure.

Morse said he felt the measures were of interest "to all Americans concerned for the personal liberties of American citizens and concerned for fair and equitable treatment of labor organizations."

The Oregon Senator said he did not expect any action to be taken on his bills this year. The reason is, Morse explained, that Congress already has done so little this year and has such a workload piled ahead of it that nothing can be done.

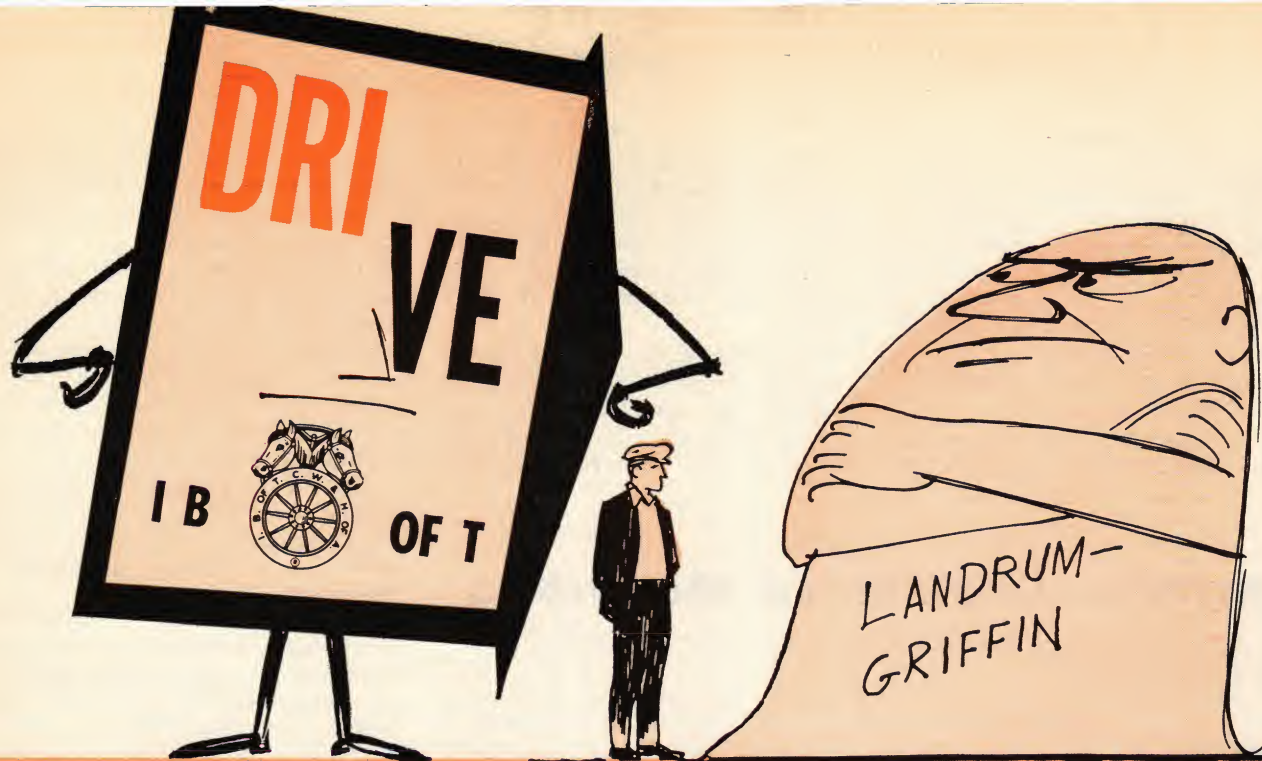
With a certain degree of disgust, he commented about the first session of the 88th Congress: "In 19 years in the Senate, I have never known a session that has done so little as this one."

Morse said his proposals will still be in committee and actionable when the second session opens in January. It was at this point that he made his plea for help:

"If any action is to be taken on them, there will have to be a good deal of interest expressed among all of American labor. The legislation is there. Now it needs support and backing from all the unions it affects."

In other comments, Morse called the railroad compulsory arbitration bill—which he voted against—a bad precedent that is "unnecessary and unwise."

He added: "This settlement has already been entered on many books as the way to handle any future dispute that may so much as threaten any substantial portion of the economy."



DRIVE was born in aftermath of Landrum-Griffin Law

This, the October, 1963 issue of the International Teamster magazine, devotes itself primarily to the observance of the Fourth Anniversary of DRIVE, and to the beginning of a major membership campaign in preparation for the 1964 elections.

DRIVE is the political and legislative arm of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The word is coined from initials which stand for Democratic, Republican, Independent, Voter Education.

DRIVE WAS BORN in the aftermath of the Landrum-Griffin legislative debacle in which it was clear that political and legislative action was a MUST for the Teamsters Union.

Even as the federal congress passed the most anti-labor piece of legislation ever to come out of the congressional hopper, it was clear that the legislative onslaught was only beginning. Barry Goldwater, the Senator from Arizona who inherited a department store, sounded the warning:

Sept. 3, 1959 Sen. Barry Goldwater discussing the report of the committee of conference.

"... Mr. President, we might think, today, as we cast our votes for the conference report, that our work is done.

"Mr. President, this is not so. We have further work to do in this field. I do not want to delay the Senate long on this point, because I have

made it often. We have work to be done in the field embodying one word, and that word is 'power.'"

With arch-conservative Barry Goldwater leveling the threat, the Teamster general executive board late in 1959 took a look at the overall political and legislative threats to Teamster jobs and union security. These threats were already on the horizon:

1. A bill already passed and signed by President Eisenhower which made strikebreakers out of every union man and woman in the nation. Teamster President James R. Hoffa predicted that Landrum-Griffin would make strikebreakers of union men and women. The then Senator Kennedy argued otherwise, but agreed that if President Hoffa's position was true he would press for its repeal.

A recent National Labor Relations Board decision has vindicated Hoffa's position. President Kennedy has remained mute.

2. More than one-third of all Teamsters employed in the car hauling business have lost their jobs because of the Interstate Commerce Commission approval of destructive competition by the Railroads.

The commission's graces have been given to selective rate cutting by the nation's railroads which cut rates for hauling cars and then received a huge increase in carrying the mail to balance the loss in car hauling.

3. One of the greatest threats to Teamster jobs is the gypsy trucker who operates under no economic regulation, and even less enforcement of minimum safety requirements on the nation's highways.

Teamster jobs are at stake as regulated common carriers face the cut-throat competition of gypsy truckers who will back-haul for practically nothing, just to have a load.

DRIVE has thrown its support behind a bill which would eliminate exempt carriers, thus making all truckers subject to rate making and safety regulations.

4. The National Association of Manufacturers has a timetable which calls for placing labor unions under anti-trust laws by 1966.

The nation's employers are active on the local, state and national levels to stop labor from advancing further at the bargaining table. A national committee sits in Washington, D. C., highly financed by American business, to promote 'right-to-work' or compulsory open shop laws on both the state and the national level.

Unemployment and workman compensation benefits are under attack in the state legislatures across the country, as employers seek to push the profit margin even higher at the expense of destitute jobless Americans.

State minimum wage laws are

fought viciously by employer groups. Employer councils and employer associations fight the organization of workers into bargaining groups, and the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce act as clearing houses for exchange of information on successful attempts to beat back unionization of employees.

5. August 28, 1963, while civil rights advocates marched in the streets

in Washington, D. C., the House of Representatives rushed passage of the senate version of compulsory arbitration of the two main issues in the railroad dispute—firemen on diesel engines and the makeup of work crews.

While the House was finishing its business, President Kennedy was meeting with civil rights leaders who were demonstrating for freedom and jobs. An hour later President Kennedy

signed the compulsory arbitration bill which will throw diesel firemen out of jobs and deny them any freedom over their own destiny.

The precedent has been set for further and further government encroachment into the field of collective bargaining, and we can expect other forms of compulsory arbitration each time the worker finds himself winning a strike, and the intervention will be on behalf of the employer.

S. 1897, the Bonner Bill, should it become law in its present form will require congressional action as a final step in any national emergency maritime dispute.

6. As far back as 1934, plans were formulated to negotiate a nation-wide agreement for over-the-road truckers, city pickup and delivery drivers, and dock workers. The plan was to eliminate labor as a competitive factor in commerce. The belief was that a man lifting freight on a dock in Little Rock, Arkansas, should earn as much as a worker doing the same thing in Los Angeles, California.

The plan called for standardization of all contract language, standardization of all benefits—health and welfare, pensions, etc.

In 1964, between February and September, all contracts in over-the-road and local cartage will expire and plans are made to negotiate a national agreement in this jurisdiction.

Already, Congressman Robert Griffin, of Landrum-Griffin infamy, has called for a congressional investigation into national agreements.

Already, the National Association of Manufacturers has succeeded in having lackeys like Senator John McClellan and Congressman Dave Martin introduce bills to place transportation unions under the anti-trust laws. Such application of the anti-trust laws would make national agreements illegal. No less than 11 such proposals are already in the hopper in the federal congress.

7. Civil liberties—the backbone of a free people—are under attack as never before, and the attack is centered on unions, the traditional stronghold of civil liberties. In any discussion of civil liberties, one thing can be said unequivocally for the Democratic party in this country—it has a strong stomach.

It was recently emphasized that the party of John F. Kennedy and his New Frontiersmen is also the party of the Russells, the McClellans, the Eastlands, and the rest of the Dixiecrats.

DRIVE – Legislative Watchdog

Several thousand bills and joint resolutions are introduced in each session of Congress.

While only a relative handful of these will be of concern to Teamster interests, all must be checked to guard against a “sleeper” moving through unnoticed. So the legislative department checks each day on measures proposed.

Bills found to be of concern to Teamsters are analysed carefully, and a file on each is opened.

Status of these measures is checked constantly. If the union position is for passage of the bill, lobbying efforts begin to seek hearings before the appropriate sub-committee. This is a strategic and often difficult step, since only a couple hundred of the thousands of bills introduced reach the “hearings” stage, the first step forward to the floor.

The “watch” continues, and if hearings on a bill are scheduled, the legislative department begins preparation of testimony to present the Teamster position, for or against, in the most effective way.

If the subcommittee reports favorably to the full committee, the process of lobbying for or against the measure in committee continues.

During this lengthy route through the committees, of course, DRIVE motorcades are questioning members of Congress on their stand on the issues. If the measure is especially vital to Teamster interests, such as in the case of S. 1197 to eliminate rate-cutting by rails, costing Teamster jobs, DRIVE units are asked to marshal letter-writing campaigns to committee members.

In each chamber, a bill must clear the Rules Committee before going to the floor. Here, the decision is made whether a measure will be given an “open” or “closed” rule. Under an “open” rule, it may be amended after reaching the floor; under a “closed” rule, it cannot be amended. The legislative department must study the measure as it stands, its chances of passage as written, then determine whether to lobby for an “open” or “closed” rule.

Once a bill is sent to the floor, the “showdown” battle for passage or defeat commences. Here, the stand of various Senators and Representatives on the issues recorded by the DRIVE motorcades proves immensely helpful. The legislative department has a head start, with these records, in finding where the strength or opposition on a bill lies. Armed with this information, it can proceed to concentrate on “doubtfuls,” or try to convince the “other side” of the correctness of the Teamster position.

Throughout it all, the legislative department maintains its own records of legislators’ votes in committee, on teller votes and record votes. Committee and teller votes are not formally recorded, but it is the job of the department to find how members voted “off the record.”

This information is maintained on file for guidance when DRIVE goes into action in the next elections.

That’s the job of “legislative watchdog.” To get it done, the “watchdog” has to keep his ears at attention and at least one eye open at all times.

It should be pointed out, too, that the Democratic Party is the party of Robert F. Kennedy, an attorney general who has been called "vindictive, possessed with a simple-mindedness about human motives," and one who Gore Vidal said "isn't against civil liberties but just doesn't know what they are." That analysis came from Gore Vidal, a close friend of President Kennedy. Vidal is a noted author, critic, playwright, and politician.

If John F. Kennedy was difficult for many, many Americans to take (and the very closeness of the vote indicated that this is so), then the political world shuddered aloud at the announcement that JFK was going to appoint his brother the attorney general of the United States.

These were not all labor leaders, or Teamsters who had listened to Bobbie twang out an unfair pattern of questioning during the McClellan Committee. Many were civil libertarians who remember that Bobbie was legal counsel to the McCarthy Committee, is still loyal to the memory of Joe McCarthy, and left the Committee only because of a personal clash with McCarthy's chief counsel, Roy Cohn.

Authorization

Gore Vidal, close personal friend of President Kennedy, calls Bobbie a dangerous authoritarian. The attorney general's actions since he was appointed to the office by his brother the President bear out suspicions and fears of those who opposed or had serious reservations about his appointment.

They have seen him sponsor wire tap legislation in the Congress which would have allowed the justice department to tap telephone wires without even the permission of a court. No attorney general in history has asked for so much power.

Bobbie, who prefers to be called "General," also has proposed to Congress that anyone who does not co-operate wholly with a government investigator be taken into custody for "obstructing justice."

He has proposed a bill in which would require a witness to forfeit his right to the Fifth Amendment in return for immunity from prosecution, thus instigating a system of barter of constitutional rights.

General Bobbie recently supported the position of the House Un-American Activities Committee which attempted to railroad through an Industrial Security Act which would

have made it possible for the government to forbid classified material to anyone working with a government contract. One so accused would have no way to defend himself except attendance at a hearing where he could not confront accusers, cross examine, or appeal the hearing's decision.

General Bobbie's use of the justice department to carry on his personal vendetta with Teamster President James R. Hoffa has shocked friend and foe alike.

Bobbie has indicted and refused to prosecute, thus giving wide publicity to indictments but giving the accused no opportunity to clear his name in court.

Bobbie has refined trial by newspaper to a fine degree, handing out copies of indictments to newspaper men along with press releases specifically designed to poison the minds of newspaper readers who eventually will be in the jury box.

Bobbie's witnesses have been given

senatorial immunity when accused of basing their information on wire tapped evidence which is illegal in court.

Bobbie has been accused of shopping around for a court where he thought he had the best opportunity for a conviction, thus denying the accused his right to a trial by his peers. Rather, Bobbie whose main talent seems to be short-cutting justice, has arranged for trial by strangers in a foreign, anti-labor community, such as trying Hoffa in Nashville for an offense alleged to have happened in Detroit.

Bobbie has used his office to have one trial delayed while Hoffa was brought to trial on a later indictment. This denial of constitutional rights was part of Bobbie's designs when he thought one case was better than the other one.

As chief counsel for the McClellan Committee, Bobbie ridiculed the Constitution of the United States and those

"...but it's a big package, you can't miss it"



who exercised their constitutional right to plead the 5th Amendment to escape his unfair questioning and the rigged atmosphere in which it appeared that all who appeared before the committee were guilty.

Although putting up a good front, Bobbie Boy has used the civil rights of Negroes as a political football, and the American Negro is not being fooled by his hypocrisy.

As Attorney General, Bobbie has brought civil rights suits to force registration of Negroes in those Southern districts where Dixiecrats have failed to go along with the Administration's legislative program.

Landrum-Griffin

But, in other Southern areas, where congressmen and senators have supported the Administration, such civil rights suits have not been brought by the Justice Department—even though the denial of voting rights to Negroes there has been every bit as flagrant.

Upon Bobbie's recommendation, arch-segregationists have been appointed judges on the federal bench in the very courts where Negroes are pressing civil rights suits to desegregate schools, force voter registration and enjoin Southern police from such acts of violence as beating Negro children demonstrating for their rights.

Bobbie has turned the misery of the Southern Negro into another of his political tools, to be taken out of the chest or put back in, depending upon the current status of his brother's political fortunes.

Perhaps the seamy side of Bobbie's political mind was best revealed by the *Wall Street Journal* which revealed recently that "Brother Robert pushes President Kennedy to make an early civil rights speech in the deep South. The Attorney General argues a Presidential appeal on the spot would help mobilize moderate opinion in Dixie. Anyway, he reasoned: 'it would be good politics in the North.'"

But the vindictive little brother of President Kennedy represents only a part of the assault on civil liberties, and civil rights.

The Landrum-Griffin Act made serious inroads on the right of free speech and freedom of the press for labor unions. The right of peaceful assembly has been encroached by anti-picketing laws and regulations which limit picketing by a labor union.

Down in Gadsden, Alabama, 22 trade unionists were indicted on a charge of conspiracy to extract a collective bargaining agreement, when all

Compulsory Arbitration

"How can you vote today for compulsory arbitration, and not realize that many other areas such as shipping, steel, automobiles, and others, may take this as a precedent to ask Congress to set up compulsory arbitration for their disputes?"

—Congressman James Roosevelt during debate on compulsory arbitration for the railroad dispute.

they asked of the employer was the same agreement in effect all over the area.

For the first time in history, compulsory arbitration is a reality, and a government appointed board will dictate the terms under which men will work, if it doesn't eliminate their jobs.

Unions are no longer free to join with their employer in a contract in which they agree not to handle struck or scab goods. The government orders men must handle the goods or be fired.

Section 14 (b) of Taft-Hartley which authorizes so-called state 'right-to-work' laws denies workers the right to majority determination in the conduct of their contractual relations with their employer.

Under the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act on bonding of union officials, bonding companies are able

Economic Power

The myth of union power was never better illustrated than by a recent report which stated that General Motors is currently holding cash and marketable securities to the tune of \$2.3 billion, an amount larger than the assessed property valuations of 18 of the 50 states.

The *Wall Street Journal* says, "A joke currently going the rounds in Detroit is that General Motors Corporation is saving up to buy the Federal Government." The myth currently going the rounds in Congress is that unions have too much power.

to bar a bona fide elected official of a union from serving simply by refusing to write the bond.

Under Landrum-Griffin, the Secretary of Labor can conduct an investigation into union affairs if he thinks someone is 'about' to do something wrong.

Courts have ruled that he need not even show probable cause when demanding that union records and files be turned over to him or his investigators.

Those are some of the facts which prompted Congressman Joseph Karth, of Minnesota, to make some rather caustic remarks to the Minnesota AFL-CIO convention late in 1959, following passage of Landrum-Griffin:

"Least of all am I apologizing for George Meany and Andrew Biemiller, the (AFL-CIO) legislative director, who I think mismanaged labor's political program all the way through Congress, which to a great degree led in the final analysis to the passage of the Landrum-Griffin bill.

"If you are not in politics all the way up to your armpits, you had better get in, because your very future depends to a great extent upon legislative action," Karth declared.

Battle not Over

Congressman John Shelley, of California, told the biennial convention of the AFL-CIO in San Francisco, in 1959, following passage of Landrum-Griffin:

"The battle isn't over. It was said by those pushing for a vicious killer bill that this was just a start, that next year there would be a proposal for a national 'right-to-work' bill, (Barry Goldwater's present proposal) . . . a proposal to apply anti-trust laws to the trade union movement (the Martin and Thurmond bills) . . . a proposed piece of legislation to put all transportation unions under a separate public utility bill and prohibit them from going on strike (McClellan's proposal now before Congress) . . . (and) a complete prohibition of the use of any funds, whether they are from the treasuries or collected voluntarily, if they are collected under trade union auspices for political activity. . . . Goldwater's proposal for a national 'right-to-work' law.

It was interesting to watch the performance of John F. Kennedy, then a senator, during events which led to passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act. As he pushed his campaign for the Democratic Presidential

nomination, he suddenly became a labor expert.

Finally, when Landrum-Griffin was being debated, Jimmy Hoffa predicted that its provisions on hot cargo and secondary boycotts would make strike-breakers of every union man and woman in the country.

In a letter to Hoffa, the then Senator Kennedy turned labor expert, wrote in part:

"Hot Cargo: Your analysis maintains that section 707 of S. 1555 would require a trucking employee to go through a picket line or lose his job. There is no requirement in section 707 that an employee must go through a picket line and certainly nothing in the section which necessitates that such an employee be discharged if he does (not).

"As a matter of fact, the Taft-Hartley Act already protects the right of an employee to refuse to cross the picket line of an employer other than his own employer, if the employees of such an employer are engaged in a strike ratified by a representative of such employees. Section 707 makes no change in this provision."

President Kennedy promised that if his interpretation were wrong, he would seek repeal of the section.

A recent ruling of the National Labor Relations Board strikes down "protection of rights" clauses in Teamster contracts and fulfills Hoffa's prediction about Landrum-Griffin making strikebreakers of union men and women. President Kennedy is mute.

It is against this backdrop of facts that four years ago this month, the general executive board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters took action to establish a political action and legislative branch of the Union.

Each executive board member knew that what he could not obtain in wages, hours, and working conditions as an individual, he could obtain collectively. Landrum-Griffin made all executive board members full well aware that collective action in politics was now the basic ingredient to the survival of the Labor Movement in the United States.

For the first few months, the Teamster political action and legislative branch was nameless. But soon it was to become recognized by its initials DRIVE—Democratic, Republican, Independent, Voter Education—and as events led up to the 1964 election, friend and foe alike agree that on its fourth anniversary, DRIVE has become of age.



John West (left) and Gilbert Ryan, Local 89 business representatives, DRIVE a hard bargain among their membership when it comes to political action. West has signed 670 Local 89 members up in DRIVE, Ryan 722. Ryan is 98.6 DRIVE in the shops he services, West 62 per cent. In Local 89, the emphasis is on DRIVE to protect gains made on the picket line and at the bargaining table.

The Pot Has Called The Kettle Black

There's no Thou like a Holier-than-Thou, goes an old Arkansas saying.

Senator John McClellan has been shaking an indignant finger in the faces of union officials, entertainers, defense department officials, and others on capitol hill for so long he has become known as Mr. Investigator.

But those who read Drew Pearson September 17, 1963, had reason to wonder just who is Holier-than-Thou, after all.

McClellan and Senator John Stennis, of Mississippi, both of whom supported Air Force brass against the test ban treaty, have a record of junketing at taxpayers' expense which rivals the best freeloader in the business.

Pearson reports that in 1955, McClellan and Stennis spent money like it was going out of style on an European junket which ended in Spain.

The expense vouchers for this little trip at the expense of taxpayers' dues money showed McClellan and Stennis and their party spent \$37,810.11 for hotels, night clubs, excursions, souvenirs, etc.

McClellan, the great protector of union dues money, claimed that only \$1,093 of the total amount was personal, the remaining \$36,717.11 was paid from taxpayers' dues money as "official."

Pearson went on to report:

"After the senatorial party got to Spain, near the end of the trip, they wanted to come home in a hurry to give their blessing to a big American Telephone and Telegraph contract with the Air Force. So two special planes were sent to bring only three senators home. (McClellan, Stennis, and another senator who is now deceased.)

The syndicated columnist reported that the "influence of Stennis and McClellan with the Air Force was so great that when Maj. Gen. Robert Moore, the escort officer traveling with them in Europe, requested the planes, they were immediately flown empty across the Atlantic."

As a footnote, Pearson added:

"Gen. Moore incidentally is a man who illustrates why certain Senators vote so lavishly for the military. He was attached to the Senate Appropriations Committee to make sure that Air Force appropriations were not cut, and he enjoyed such a chummy relationship with the Senators that they inserted a provision in the Appropriations Bill, jumping Moore in rank from colonel to major general."

Certainly the moral to this story seems to be:

"There's no Thou like a Holier-than-Thou!"

\$3 Investment in Security

DRIVE is the political action and legislative arm of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. It is designed to protect economic gains won at the bargaining table and on the picket line from destruction by anti-labor politicians and anti-labor legislation. Through political action, the working man and woman can protect their economic security.

How does the rank-and-file Teamster become a member of DRIVE?

By making an annual \$3 contribution—or, preferably by payment of a \$5 family contribution, thus encouraging Teamster wives to engage in political action through DRIVE.



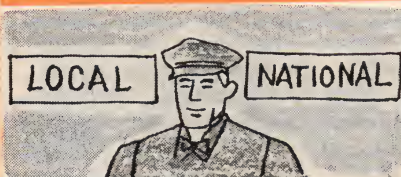
Who will sign the individual member up in DRIVE?

Your shop steward, your business agent, the officers of your local union, or a member of the DRIVE Ladies Auxiliary have all volunteered to help in the membership campaign just getting underway.



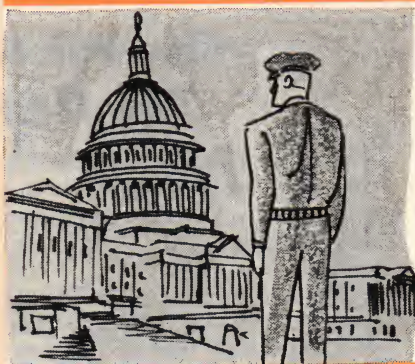
Where does the money go?

A contribution is split two ways. Half stays right with your local DRIVE unit to help elect friends of labor on the local and state level. Half goes to National DRIVE headquarters for political action on the federal level.



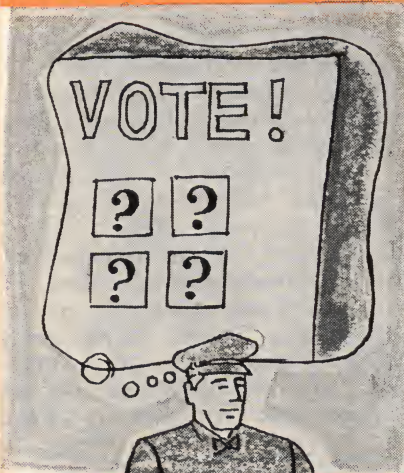
How will the money be spent?

As a member of your local DRIVE unit you will help determine how your political war chest will be spent on the local level. On the National DRIVE level, the money is spent to help elect congressmen and senators friendly to labor's cause.



Will DRIVE tell me how to vote?

No! DRIVE from time to time will make recommendations, based on the best information supplied from the various local units of DRIVE around the nation. No one is desirous of telling you how to vote.



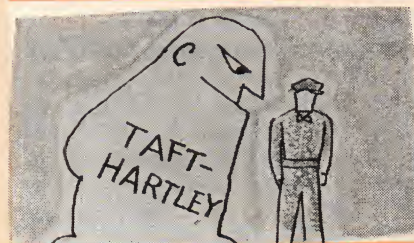
What do I get for my money? Anything?

Materially, you get a subscription to *DRIVE Reporter* to keep you abreast of the National DRIVE program on behalf of you and your union. You get an organization through which to channel your political efforts to protect your gains made at the bargaining table. You get the peace of mind of knowing that working men and women are rallying their political strength through DRIVE to fight back against the wave of anti-unionism being whipped up by labor's enemies.



I pay monthly union dues. Why don't you take money out of the union treasury for political action?

That's the problem! Taft-Hartley makes it a crime to use dues money for support of candidates for federal office. Already—by law—our enemies have made it more difficult for you to participate in political action through your union than it is for your boss to participate through his company. All monies used for political action by unions must come from voluntary contributions. Thus, the need for your \$3 or \$5 DRIVE contribution.



How can we fight corporate billions with a \$3 contribution?

Every little bit helps. Collectively, we've matched corporations at the bargaining table. But, in 1960, 12 families contributed more to the Presidential election campaign than all of the 18 million members of organized labor combined. Collectively, our DRIVE memberships can match corporate wealth, and certainly through our DRIVE organizations we can out-vote management many times over.

If you want to contribute more than \$3, you can become a Life Member of DRIVE with a \$100 contribution. Many shops are 100 per cent DRIVE, and many are also 100 per cent Life memberships.

Want to do still more? You can become a 14 Karat member of DRIVE by contributing \$500, or a 24 Karat member by contributing \$1000. Yes, budget plans are available.



How does a membership in DRIVE obligate me?

Only to the extent that you want to obligate yourself. Naturally, no organization is effective simply because it has a large political war chest. Some Republicans and Democrats participate in their parties by contribution of money only. Others contribute money, ring door bells, distribute literature, help with registration drives, help get out the vote, and hold party office. DRIVE would encourage you to participate actively. However, you can only obligate yourself, and the least you can do is to support your union's political action program with a \$3 contribution.



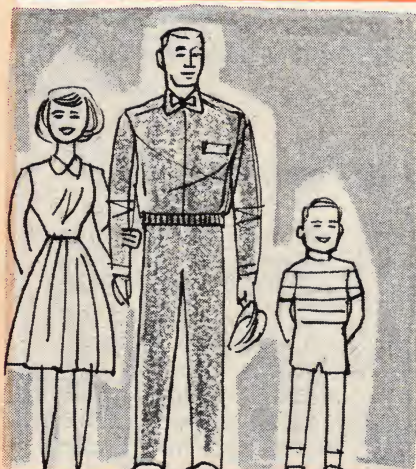
As yet, no DRIVE unit functions in my local union. How else can I join?

You can join by sending your contribution directly to DRIVE national headquarters, 25 Louisiana Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. If you request it, National DRIVE will forward information and assistance to form a local DRIVE unit.



I see the need for union political action, but I'm afraid we'll make the same mistake other unions have made and become absorbed by the Democratic Party. Is this true?

The refreshing aspect of DRIVE is its bi-partisanship. DRIVE is designed to support friends of labor, regardless of party label. It is designed to support legislation which is in the interest of working men and women, regardless of which party may introduce such legislation. No, DRIVE will not be dominated by either Democrats or Republicans.



YOUR BOSS IS A PAID UP MEMBER OF THE NAM

It stands for National Association of Manufacturers!

WON'T YOU JOIN DRIVE TODAY?

It stands for Democratic, Republican, Independent, Voter Education!



Family Security through Family Teamwork

The individual Teamster family is the heartbeat of DRIVE.

Whatever strength and vitality the Teamsters Union legislative and political action arm has must come directly from that heartbeat.

To keep it throbbing stronger and stronger, DRIVE has designed its complete structure and program to assure a vigorous "circulatory" system of education, information and legislative action.

The aim is to create a continuous flow of information and action, utilizing a sort of two-way funnel system. National DRIVE—working through the Area Conferences, Joint Councils and local unions—pours into one mouth of the funnel informational and educational materials on legislation, candidates, issues and plans of action.

Employing basic educational and organizational programs established by DRIVE, Joint Councils and local unions have set up DRIVE units and DRIVE Ladies Auxiliaries to receive, store, and use the "ammunition" supplied by the national office.

These DRIVE units are broken down into zone or precinct bodies—and this is where the Teamster family supplies the heartbeat that makes the program tick.

At the zone or precinct level—where all elections and issues are

decided—the Teamster family becomes informed, gets a plan of action and goes to work.

Now, the flow of action begins moving toward the other open end of the two-way funnel. Local DRIVE units have generated letter-writing campaigns, voter registration programs, special meetings with members of Congress, motorcades to Washington.

Multiply one Teamster family by 1000 in various districts throughout the nation, and it is easy to see what massive impact this activity can wield on the course of legislation of special concern to Teamster members.

From the other end of the funnel streams a concerted "grass roots" flow of influence no elected officials can ignore.

The Teamsters Union legislative program—which has enjoyed definite successes in the effort to protect Teamster jobs—has derived its full strength from that heartbeat supplied by the Teamster family.

"Family Security Through Family Teamwork" is DRIVE's slogan, but it has proved to be more than a slogan. It has developed to be an effective formula for successful legislative action.

The philosophy on which the structure of DRIVE is built recognizes that political and legislative action, if

either is to be effective, must be interwoven. Other labor "action" organizations have ignored this fact of life, which is one good reason why labor was hit with the Landrum-Griffin Act.

All of DRIVE's activity concentrates on two inter-related objectives:

—Election of candidates friendly to the interests of Teamster Union members.

—Passage or defeat of legislation of special concern to Teamsters families.

Obviously, the activity of an election year is of prime importance. Getting Teamster families informed, registered and to the polls, electing candidates who will see the Teamster side of legislative issues—this represents a vital part of the DRIVE effort.

But DRIVE goes further. There are no "let up" periods in its activity.

DRIVE keeps a check on all legislation introduced in Congress. All bills are analyzed and classified.

Legislation of concern to Teamsters is studied and researched. Then testimony is prepared favoring or opposing the measure, according to policy.

Where necessary, the "grass roots" organization built through DRIVE's precinct-or-zone plan is called into action. Letter-writing campaigns are called for, meetings with Congressmen scheduled. This "grass roots" backing, along with effective presentation of the Teamster position to Congress, assures complete respect and consideration for the Teamster viewpoint.

The heartbeat of DRIVE—the Teamster family—gets results.

So, from national DRIVE springs two programs—legislative action and political action—which are deemed inseparable.

Success depends on the strength of the lines of communications to and from the heartbeat—the Teamster family.

To most effectively reach this goal of best possible lines of communication, DRIVE has geared its educational and informational efforts to

On Compulsory Arbitration

"We are faced with the Bonner Bill, which now is about to be poured out of committee in reference to the Maritime Industry—with the claim that it is only mediation. But it is not a mediation bill because in the last step of mediation, the President will have the power to recommend compulsory arbitration to the Congress and again establish a procedure in Maritime as he established in the railroad industry.

"How much more experience do we have to have to realize that we are dead as a labor movement unless we become alive politically?"—*Sidney Zagri, Executive Director of DRIVE, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, to the 9th Annual Central Conference of Teamsters.*

channel through joint councils to local unions to DRIVE agents to DRIVE stewards to the individual Teamster member.

The DRIVE agent, supported by the effort of the joint council DRIVE director, is the key figure in the DRIVE program.

Under the "ideal" shop-level campaign, DRIVE agents, under direction of the local executive officer, carry on the DRIVE program directly to the DRIVE stewards, who enroll members and encourage participation, then report back to the DRIVE agent. The DRIVE agent gives a shop-by-shop picture of progress made to the local union executive officer, who in turn submits the resume to the joint council executive board and the DRIVE director. From these reports, the DRIVE director charts "slow spots" and gets busy helping the DRIVE agent in these areas.

This local effort is backed up by a two-pronged national program:

EDUCATIONAL: A complete program for training precinct stewards and stewardesses in practical politics has been set up by DRIVE. This program is based primarily on DRIVE's five-booklet series, "Practical Precinct Politics," which has just been revised and will be printed shortly.

Supplementing educational programs at the precinct level is a program of educational seminars for business agents and shop stewards.

Supplementing the "Practical Precinct Politics" series is a "Discussion Leader's Manual," designed to assist those conducting classes based on "Practical Precinct Politics." DRIVE also has available for local classes a legislative fact book giving full information on all issues.

Precinct Politics

One of the most effective means of getting ladies acquainted with the DRIVE program has been the DRIVE Flip Chart, designed for use in neighborhood meetings and "coffee klatches." The colorful, 28 panel chart, with a recorded narration, tells in 16 minutes the aims, purposes and programs of DRIVE. (This chart is now being produced on slides for use in larger meetings.)

The Flip Chart presentation serves as an introduction to DRIVE and to the course in Practical Precinct Politics.

INFORMATIONAL. Main avenue for disseminating information on DRIVE activities and legislation is

the *DRIVE Reporter*, a 12-page newspaper distributed to DRIVE members twice monthly.

Supporting the *Reporter* are numerous pamphlets, brochures, posters, films and other informational aids.

All in all, the entire structure of DRIVE is designed to stimulate and maintain the flow of information and

education to the "heartbeat"—the Teamster family—and draw strength for the legislative program.

The stronger the heartbeat, the more effective will be DRIVE's role in influencing legislation which has a direct impact on Teamster members' contracts, wages and job security and family happiness.

Golden Memberships

To become a 24 Karat member of DRIVE one must plunk \$1000 on the line, \$500 to become a 14 Karat member. And the number is growing daily. Below is a list of 24 and 14 Karat members of DRIVE:

DRIVE 24 KARAT MEMBERS

J. Anderson—L.U. 307	J. R. Hoffa—Gen. Pres.	J. T. O'Brien—1st V.P.
J. B. Backhus—8th V.P.	E. C. Jones—J.C. 54	F. H. Ranney—J.C. 39
H. C. Bailey—L.U. 775	F. T. Jones—J.C. 54	A. Rein—L.U. 435
G. R. Conklin—7th V.P.	C. Kirschbaum—	O. Smith—J.C. 92
J. J. Diviny—2nd V.P.	L.U. 147	V. Spadaccini—M.N.N.
M. E. Dunn—L.U. 435	C. E. Lindsay—L.U. 452	A. J. Stucker—J.C. 54
C. M. Dadds—L.U. 847	C. F. Lindsay—J.C. 54	D. I. Sutton—L.U. 452
F. E. Fitzsimmons—	E. M. Lindsay—L.U. 452	K. Silvers—Ky.
13th V.P.	L. E. Lynds—J.C. 54	J. A. Teel—J.C. 54
T. E. Flynn—6th V.P.	A. S. Hangan—L.U. 452	H. A. Tevis—4th V.P.
R. F. Frey—L.U. 775	G. E. Mock—9th V.P.	E. R. Toliver—J.C. 54
H. J. Gibbons, Ex. V.P.	N. P. Morrissey—J.C. 10	R. L. Young—L.U. 61
J. H. Hansen—J.C. 54	W. T. Mullenholz—	S. Zagri—Dir. DRIVE
C. Hasslock—L.U. 775	Comp. IBT	

DRIVE 14 KARAT MEMBERS

G. Anderson—L.U. 144	E. A. Hill—L.U. 71	L. Rhoads—L.U. 215
G. Anderson—L.U. 364	V. B. Hodge—L.U. 795	M. A. Rice—L.U. 297
C. K. Arden—L.U. 215	J. Holliday—L.U. 135	R. Riddell—L.U. 89
L. Atterbury—L.U. 89	H. Honeycutt—L.U. 71	K. Rittman—L.U. 89
H. Glyn Aud—L.U. 215	L. Hopkins—L.U. 878	L. Robbins—L.U. 135
W. C. Barbee—L.U. 71	A. Howard—L.U. 135	E. Robillard—J.C. 39
V. Barber—L.U. 135	N. Hug—L.U. 89	C. Rogers—L.U. 89
L. Bauer—Ind. Conf.	W. Jenkins—L.U. 298	G. M. Rogers—L.U. 144
H. Berns—Ind. Conf.	R. Johnson—L.U. 795	G. Rowan—L.U. 200
C. Beswick—L.U. 783	J. Jorgenson—J.C. 32	G. Ryan—L.U. 89
N. L. Blume—L.U. 783	M. Kaufman—L.U. 135	E. J. Schultz—L.U. 200
L. Boehning—L.U. 543	S. M. Kearns—L.U. 364	E. O. Schumacher—
K. R. Bowman—L.U. 71	D. Kilgore—L.U. 795	L.U. 200
C. Bradshaw—L.U. 543	C. Kinnaman—L.U. 188	H. Schutte—L.U. 414
H. Bridges—L.U. 543	F. Lammert—L.U. 135	P. Schweitzer—L.U. 783
J. Burrell—L.U. 89	R. C. Lane—L.U. 200	W. F. Scott—L.U. 71
T. Cantillon—L.U. 135	L. Lantz—L.U. 543	R. C. Shafer—L.U. 657
E. T. Carlson—L.U. 364	M. Lawrence—L.U. 364	D. J. Simeri—L.U. 364
M. C. Carriker—L.U. 71	T. E. Lee—J.C. 41	J. Simpkins—IBT Office
W. Childers—L.U. 193	E. A. Maahs—L.U. 364	C. W. Smith—L.U. 795
W. Clements—J.C. 87	D. Mahoney—L.U. 135	S. E. Smith—L.U. 795
J. Coakley—L.U. 144	R. E. Martin—L.U. 135	E. Snawder—L.U. 89
C. Corbett—Ind. Conf.	J. D. May—L.U. 135	R. Spencer—L.U. 144
H. D. Cole—J.C. 37	J. E. McMullen—J.C. 41	T. St. Peter—L.U. 116
A. W. Cors—L.U. 135	D. F. McNaughton, Sr.	H. Stephens—L.U. 135
J. Coughlin—L.U. 414	—L.U. 346	J. Stribling, Jr.—
R. C. Cress—L.U. 71	C. O. Miller—L.U. 144	L.U. 783
C. E. Davis—L.U. 188	W. Miller—J.C. 64	D. W. Tilkins—L.U. 75
C. Davis—L.U. 200	J. Mofield—L.U. 215	B. L. Trefts—L.U. 135
M. Davis—L.U. 188	C. Moore—J.C. 80	W. Trisinger—L.U. 364
M. E. Day—L.U. 193	N. Murrin—Ind. Conf.	H. Wallermann—
J. Daywalt—L.U. 135	H. R. Nivens—L.U. 364	L.U. 200
V. A. Denton—L.U. 783	C. M. Nolan—L.U. 543	H. Wambach—L.U. 257
J. Dexter—L.U. 795	J. R. Nolan—L.U. 135	F. Warren—L.U. 135
A. Dietrich—L.U. 71	J. J. Ogle—L.U. 135	J. O. Waters—L.U. 297
D. Dininger—L.U. 135	A. S. Parker—L.U. 554	G. S. Webb—L.U. 612
H. Eakle—L.U. 135	L. E. Patrick—L.U. 135	J. Webster—L.U. 779
J. Edrington—L.U. 783	R. J. Peyton—L.U. 135	J. Welsing—L.U. 75
R. A. Farrell—J.C. 87	H. Piper—L.U. 414	J. West—L.U. 89
E. J. Fillenwarth—Ind.	W. J. Pipp—L.U. 364	J. D. White—L.U. 779
D. Fisher—L.U. 89	J. Pisano—J.C. 64	G. Wilkinson—L.U. 215
J. Flanagan—L.U. 200	E. Plummer—L.U. 138	D. S. Willard—L.U. 391
L. H. Floerke—L.U. 193	H. Poling, Jr.—L.U. 364	J. Williams—L.U. 144
J. Flood—J.C. 94	P. W. Priddy—L.U. 89	E. Williamson—L.U. 61
J. Fontana—L.U. 410	H. Priest—L.U. 414	H. Wilson—L.U. 543
S. Green—L.U. 135	J. Prifrel, Jr.—L.U. 149	M. Winstead—L.U. 89
H. L. Haynes—L.U. 783	W. Reed—L.U. 144	C. Whobrey—Ind. Conf.
L. Hicks—J.C. 69	L. Reisner—L.U. 135	A. Young—J.C. 41

Drive 1964

Declaration of Principles

- 1. Social Security pensions at age 60.*
- 2. A Minimum wage of not less than \$1.50 an hour for all—no exemptions.*
- 3. The right to a job or unemployment insurance 52 weeks a year, covering at least two-thirds of the individual's income.*
- 4. Tax reduction in lower income bracket — \$1,000. exemption for each dependent.*
- 5. Housing—An expanded program of slum clearance and low-cost housing with adequate safeguards to prevent the creation of new slums.*
- 6. Federal Aid to Education—guaranteeing every child an opportunity to receive the training and education of his choice.*
- 7. A Medicare program through Social Security.*
- 8. A 35-hour work week with double time paid by first and second employer (to eliminate moonlighting.)*
- 9. Repeal anti-strike legislation and preserve free collective bargaining.*
- 10. Protect the constitutional rights of all citizens from governmental and private interference.*



a man-sized job **DRIVE IN ACTION**

DRIVE, the political and legislative arm of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, had a man-sized job to do from the beginning.

Even before it was christened DRIVE, veterans on Capitol Hill admitted that Teamster efforts to defeat Landrum-Griffin were coordinated, were well organized, and were much more effective than COPE (Committee on Political Education) and the legislative arm of the AFL-CIO. Some even ventured that had the AFL-CIO known where it was going, had it assumed a positive posture like the one taken by the Teamsters, Landrum-Griffin might have been less of a killer bill.

While the labor movement reeled around in its own apathy following passage of Landrum-Griffin, hoping somehow to escape the killer provisions of the bill, DRIVE was at work protecting Teamsters.

Railroads were making great inroads into the car hauling business. By selectively cutting rates on car hauling—while hiking rates on freight in areas where it enjoyed a monopoly—the railroads were making piggyback stick. And they were making it stick because the railroad-oriented Interstate Commerce Commission which is charged with rate making in transportation was giving its blessing to the cut-throat competition by the rails.

DRIVE proved equal to the task, and took the fight to the Senate where S. 1197 was introduced to stop the ICC from permitting selective rate cutting by the railroads. S. 1197 never became law, but it was not entirely ineffectual either.

Teamster President James R. Hoffa addressed a quarter of a million rank-and-file Teamsters April 9, 1961, on the largest telephone conference in

history. His message urging rank-and-file Teamsters to write their congressional delegations concerning selective rate cutting was beamed into theaters and meeting halls in 170 cities across the nation.

Hoffa delivered eight separate telephone messages of approximately 10 minutes each, between the hours of 10 a.m. and 2 p.m., speaking from his office in Washington, D. C.

20 Cities

Up to 20 cities were routed in on each call. Each message was taped for possible playback to any city where original transmission over loudspeakers may have been missed, but none was reported.

More than 1 million letters were written to Congress on the selective-rate cutting question, with the Teamster position adequately expressed.

DRIVE had successfully sparked its first letter writing campaign, and Washington politicians were openly admitting that DRIVE was already effective.

Although S. 1197 never became law, Teamster efforts against selective rate cutting produced an impact on ICC policy with the Commission reverting to former position on rate-

making and eliminating much of selective rate-cutting.

For the first time in history, the Interstate Commerce Commission launched an investigation into piggybacking and hearings recently came to an end.

If DRIVE was ambitious from the beginning, it was also perceptive and took the lead in alerting the AFL-CIO to the fact that a labor movement could not be free in a nation stripped of its civil liberties.

DRIVE went to work on Bobbie Kennedy's proposal for wholesale wire tapping. Testimony of Sidney Zagri, executive director of DRIVE, struck a damaging blow to the authoritarian hopes of General Bobbie.

Stool Pigeon

Next, General Bobbie tried to make the world his stool pigeon with a measure dressed up in the fancy title of an "Obstruction of Justice" bill. This proposal would have made it a felony to refuse to cooperate with a government investigator.

Employees would have been forced to testify against employers, friend against friend, relative against relative, without proper subpoena, and the investigative process would have become an inquisition.

Southern Conference 100 Per Cent

As DRIVE motorcades flocked into Washington from the South, IBT Vice President Murray W. Miller's promise to send a motorcade from every Joint Council in the Southern Conference was fulfilled. With the Southern Teamster wives visiting Southern Congressional delegations and demanding answers to problems affecting the working man, capitol hill veterans admit that a new era of political education has hit the hill.

DRIVE joined in strenuous opposition to a concept so foreign to the American way of life.

Continuing to exhibit his lack of understanding of the constitutional process, General Bobbie went to the Congress with a measure which would have granted immunity to a witness in exchange for that witnesses' right to plead the Fifth Amendment. The attorney general was asking American citizens to barter away their constitutional rights so that he could enforce the law. Again DRIVE was opposed.

When Congress refused to extend the right of equal time on the airways to minority political parties, DRIVE testified in defense of minority opposition during a political campaign.

It is now recognized on Capitol Hill that civil liberties have a guardian in DRIVE which is a constant champion of free individuals in a free society.

As DRIVE has become a seasoned battler, so has it become aware that legislative threats to collective bargaining gains are ever present.

The immoral position of the railroads still hovers over Teamster jobs as a constant threat. Current proposals would eliminate all minimum rate controls, throwing the freight industry into a competitive jungle.

Once the rails have captured all the freight with their cut-rate methods and gained a monopoly status, one can expect freight rates to skyrocket. And in the wake of the disaster to the transportation policy of the country will be spread the skeletons of thousands and thousands of Teamster jobs.

DRIVE is at work day and night fighting for an enlightened transportation policy for the country.

Another threat to the men and women who work for a living is the continual encroachment of government on the collective bargaining process. With the passage of compulsory arbitration in the railroad dispute, collective bargaining in this country was seriously wounded. One of DRIVE's main goals is to alert its membership and all of the trade union movement to the dangers of third parties at the bargaining table.

With compulsory arbitration in the rail dispute, a precedent has been set, and a wide-spread application of the precedent will spell the death of free collective bargaining in this nation. James R. Hoffa, president of DRIVE, has pointed out again and again that the only time government steps into a collective bargaining dispute, it steps in on the side of the employer. With that fact as a guideline, DRIVE

Central Conference Resolutions

The Ninth Central Conference of Teamsters, meeting last month in Chicago, adopted the following resolutions relating to DRIVE, the political action and legislative arm of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

Resolution No. 1

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Central Conference of Teamsters in Convention assembled, at the Palmer House Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, September 13-15, that full endorsement be given the National DRIVE program and each member, Local Union, Joint Council, and Conference Official, is hereby called upon and urged to step up all DRIVE activities particularly in the following areas:

1. Expanding DRIVE membership.
2. Intensified fund raising for DRIVE.
3. Voter registration and get out the vote campaign.
4. Perfect ward and precinct organization.
5. Support and encourage DLA Auxiliaries.

Resolution No. 2

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Central Conference expresses its approval and appreciation of the National DLA program and to the Teamster wives of the Central Conference, at the same time urging these ladies to intensify their efforts at all levels. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that all business agents and local union officials in the Central Conference recognize the need for full co-operation with DRIVE Ladies Auxiliary Units and at the same time these officials are urged to provide whatever resources are available which may be of help to the ladies of this Conference informing and maintaining active DLA Units.

Resolution No. 3

WHEREAS, the business agent is the key to an effective political education program.

WHEREAS, knowledge of key legislative issues and political organizations must precede the practical political action, and

WHEREAS, the training of the rank and file leadership must be assumed by the business agent.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that the Central States Conference of Teamsters go on record this date urging all Joint Councils to adopt and support a DRIVE leadership training program for business agents.

stands foursquare against any form of compulsory arbitration.

Madison Avenue propagandists are responsible for compulsory arbitration in the rail dispute. At a recent convention of public relations people in Miami Beach, Florida, they openly boasted of their triumph with their two-year campaign of full-page ads on featherbedding.

Now the propagandist, under the hire of the National Association of Manufacturers, is out to make a myth which he has named "union monopoly power" as dirty or an even more dirty word than "featherbedding."

With "union monopoly power" as the slogan around which it hopes to whip up more labor union hysteria, the NAM has set 1966 as its target date for placing labor unions under antitrust laws.

Because the cause of the working man to gain a dignified and equitable partnership with management in American industry was just, the working man has always been successful at the bargaining table. By collective action with his fellow worker, the American worker has been successful.

Such collective action is the target of the National Association of Manufacturers. If the NAM can secure a law which will make it illegal for man to combine with another man, or for one union to combine with another union in the pursuit of better wages, hours, and conditions, labor unions will be so fragmented that they will be helpless in labor-management relations.

DRIVE was the first to expose a series of secret meetings in which the National Association of Manufacturers planned its assault on the organizations to which the working man turns for economic protection and economic security.

DRIVE will be in the forefront of the battle to defeat anti-trust laws.

DRIVE, which has a membership potential of more than one and one-half million, is now a mature political force for the good of working men and women everywhere, at a time when the labor movement stands on the threshold.

If working people take up the challenge, the labor movement will survive to achieve even greater benefits for working people. If working people refuse the challenge, surely the labor movement will be shoved over the threshold into destruction.

DRIVE intends to be difficult indeed to shove. Will you join the fight with DRIVE?

BACK in the early days when DRIVE was just a pup, political action in the Teamsters was rather an unwanted whelp. The Teamsters had always been known as a "bread and butter" union which prided itself on negotiating the good contract, policing it to see that it was enforced, and processing grievances to make the agreement meaningful.

Political action was for the long-hairs and the egg heads, and the Teamster business agent was much more at home in the union hall or on the dock, at one of the barns or shops than he was at a political luncheon or in the halls at the state capitol.

Then came passage of Landrum-Griffin and further disillusionment with the political process. In their own ways, local unions and joint councils had supported candidates for office, had elected many, and then saw their liberal friends vote almost to a man for the killer Landrum-Griffin. What was the use?

It seemed to many that to embark on an ambitious political program was only providing more grist for the propaganda mill, and certainly headlines in newspapers had been anything but kind and fair for a long time.

In short, DRIVE faced what seemed to be insurmountable odds within its own family.

Fortunately, however, there was one who had faced long odds all of her adult life. Long ago she had joined her husband on a picketline in front of a laundry where she worked, in a fight for a better piece of the economic pie.

She had seen her husband and other union leaders in Detroit, in the 1930's, push and claw their way through Pinkerton detectives, company goons, court injunctions, past the billy clubs of strikebreaking police.

She had seen unions in this country built by hand against tremendous odds, and she knew they would stay together only by constant vigilance because labor's enemies never even stop for lunch.

It was no accident, then, that she would be among the first to see the danger signs on the wall, the first to see the beginning of a powerful move in this country to strip man of his right to organize and bargain collectively for wages, hours, and working conditions.

Only she could even express her feelings during the McClellan hearings when her husband was in the witness stand. She knew her husband's record of a life-time of fighting for better things for his fellow man.

Teamster President James R. Hoffa and his wife Josephine. Mrs. Hoffa is truly received by the rank-and-file as the First Lady of the Teamsters because of her thousands of miles of travel to organize Teamster political units in local unions and joint councils across the land.



How she must have cringed to see her husband questioned by a brat who owed his every adult job to his father's influence and money.

How the twang of the chief counsel for the McClellan committee whose father gave him a \$1 million just for turning 21 must have reminded her of early days in Detroit when families she knew pooled their resources to put one meal on the table.

Others of less stature might have strangled their effectiveness in their own bitterness. But, Josephine Hoffa knew that it was time to join her husband again and do battle if men and women in this nation who must work for a living were to remain free to join unions of their choice.

During the early days, it must have been discouraging to travel all night to attend a rally, only to find that it was attended by only a handful. At times it must have seemed hopeless in the loneliness of a hotel room when the job was to charter a DRIVE Ladies Auxiliary, and only a few Teamsters wives were interested.

In the beginning, it must have hurt to read the poor taste of the editorial writer's pun, or to see the cartoonist's cutting caricatures. But, Jo Hoffa knew so well that union's weren't built by men and women who quit at the first disappointment, or who were discouraged by an anti-union editorial. She knew a strong political and legislative action program would not be built in the Teamsters by one of faint heart.

She knew then—as she does now at Jo Hoffa luncheons and banquets which have attracted crowds of more

than 5000 Teamsters and their wives—that she must join her husband to symbolize that family security comes through family teamwork. And she has traveled the width and breadth of the land helping to establish DRIVE Ladies Auxiliary units in local unions and joint councils at a time when limitations of yesterday's circumstances had been overcome and it would have been much easier to enjoy herself at home or travel at her leisure.

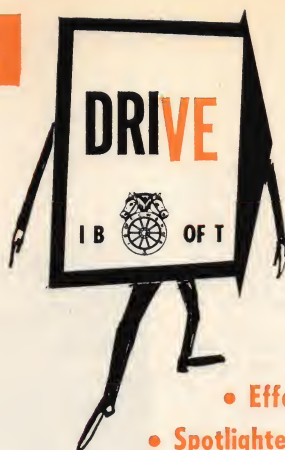
From her months of travel and work in establishing DRIVE Ladies Auxiliary units has come the entire program of DRIVE in Action.

To the Teamster movement she symbolizes the woman in politics to protect economic gains her husband has won at the bargaining table and on the picket line. She symbolizes the peace of mind of the over-the-road truck driver who knows when he reaches his division point that his wife is back home in the precinct doing their political home work.

Jo Hoffa symbolizes the Teamster wife who rides the bus miles and miles from home to Washington, D. C. on a DRIVE motorcade to support legislation which will benefit all working men and women.

Jo Hoffa symbolizes the wife of the working man who stepped forward to meet the political challenge of the times and to put DRIVE into ACTION.

Any discussion of DRIVE in Action would be incomplete without proper tribute to the First Lady of the Teamsters, Josephine—or Jo—wife of Teamster General President James R. Hoffa.



- ICC Revisions of Policy on Selective Rate-Cutting
- Help end threats to members' rights
- Effective defensive blow against the Bonner Bill
- Spotlighted injustices of Landrum-Griffin provisions
- Convinced H.E.L.C. of dangers in Reporting and Disclosure Act
- Created interest in Constitutional Rights
- Opposed bills threatening civil liberties
- Support for a "meaningful" civil rights bill
- Support for amending Davis-Bacon to include fringe benefits

DRIVE'S

ACCOMPLISHMENTS HAVE BEEN MANY

To gauge the Teamsters' legislative achievements on Capitol Hill in perspective, it is necessary to return to the battlegrounds where the McClellan Committee launched its attack to destroy the world's largest union—an assault later taken up by the President and the Attorney General when the Kennedys narrowly won the 1960 election.

It was obvious to thoughtful persons who knew the union movement that the real purposes of the McClellan Committee were to create a climate in which to push anti-union legislation through Congress. To do this, a picture of power and wrong-doing was essential. The logical choice was to pick out the largest, strongest union and go to work.

In the just-published book, "JFK: Man and Myth," Victor Lasky recalls the relationship of the Kennedys with the "work" of the McClellan Committee:

"To retain his Conservative support Kennedy could not appear to be overly pro-Labor. At the same time he could not afford to alienate the absolutely essential Liberal support that surely would be antagonized by anti-Labor activities.

"The McClellan Rackets Committee investigation, as it became known, was the device which was used to achieve these apparently incompatible objectives."

Weak of knee and short of sight, the labor movement as represented by the AFL-CIO was willing to see the Teamsters served up as the sacrificial lamb to the McClellan Com-

mittee. Then, using the circus findings of the committee as "evidence," the AFL-CIO expelled the Teamsters.

It was in this atmosphere that the Teamsters Union began its legislative efforts. The daily press had "co-operated" fully with those set on destroying the Teamsters by handing down "convictions by headline."

Legislative efforts by the union have been remarkably successful despite the "image" created by these forces—and, in fact, have gone far toward altering the image completely.

The Teamsters' legislative program—both defensively and offensively—has been successful for a number of reasons.

For one, the union has demonstrated clearly that it is striving to win

broad social advances for all Americans.

For another, it has impressed members of Congress of all political positions with its competency and knowledge in the areas of legislation in which it is interested.

A key factor in this effectiveness has been one of the basic philosophies adopted by Legislative Counsel Sidney Zagri: "I never ask a member of Congress to do anything which cannot be justified."

BUSINESS WEEK, top magazine in business and circulated by subscription only to executives, did a searching study of the Teamsters' legislative activity in mid-September and quoted one member of Congress:

"We may not like it, but these fellows are effective."

Another factor is that, because of its stand in defense of constitutional rights, civil liberties, and procedural rights, the Teamsters Union has won a hard core of Congressional friends who recognize the importance of its battle in these areas.

Members of both parties, liberals and conservatives, Southerners and Northerners, have stepped forward to support the Teamster position on many key issues.

Wrapped up in a package, the Teamsters Union's effective legislative testimony before committees, the forthright attitude and mutual respect in personal contacts, and the tremendous "grass roots" support of the program through wives' motorcades and letter-writing have added up to a

What They Say About DRIVE

"These ladies could make the difference in any congressional election." *Congressman Fulton of Pennsylvania*

"You taught me quite a lesson on how to get a point across . . . and I have learned the power of a woman . . . all of our Congressmen are very impressed by you." *Congressman Ryan of Michigan*

strong and respected voice on Capitol Hill.

More vocal and active than most unions in this important field, the Teamsters have been an important factor in the "holding action" against three proposed measures which would cut deeply into traditional American rights:

1. Bobbie Kennedy's proposal to legalize wiretapping in specified instances.

2. A so-called "obstruction of justice" measure, which would encourage and protect "stool pigeons" and informers, while making it more difficult for the ordinary citizen to protect himself from reckless probes.

3. The so-called "fifth amendment" proposal, which would strip witnesses' rights in certain cases to invoke the Fifth Amendment by granting immunity against self-incrimination at the will of a questioner. Thus, the Fifth Amendment could be made meaningless, at the choice of the investigator.

Teamster Jobs

When it serves the common good of union and management, the Teamsters legislative program teams with the American Trucking Associations. So it was with the first mammoth legislative lobbying effort on S. 1197, which ultimately produced a desired effect although never adopted.

Now, the Teamsters have joined with management in opposition to S. 1061, which would remove minimum rate regulations set for the railroads. Doing this would open the way for the rails to cut rates where such action could remove other competition, and raise rates where other competition was no threat.

Obviously, this proposal puts a knife at the throat of every worker in the trucking industry.

While concentrating heavily on opposition of S. 1061, the legislative department is continuing its three-year fight against so-called "gray areas" of non-regulated motor freight carriers. Teamster testimony in Congress has shown a growing number of "private" carriers, unregulated and unaccountable to the ICC, operating in competition with common carriers—a mounting threat to Teamster jobs.

That the Teamsters Union has succeeded in convincing a "hard core" of a cross section of Congressmen on the stand for constitutional safeguards has been evident on three dramatic occasions.

1. After suffering long, and crippling restraints under the monitorship

Legislative Highlights

Here in capsule form are highlights of the IBT legislative accomplishments during the last four years:

- By effective support of S. 1197 succeeded in achieving many of its objectives through ICC revisions of policy on selective rate-cutting.

- Encouraged legislative concern over the threats to members' rights under union monitorship, resulting in bills being proposed to end such arrangements.

- Struck an effective defensive blow, through President James R. Hoffa's two-day testimony, against the Bonner Bill, calling for compulsory arbitration in maritime.

- Spotlighted weaknesses and injustices of Landrum - Griffin bonding provisions, resulting in IBT obtaining essential bonding at a critical moment and the introduction of bills—now being heard—to correct inequities under L-G.

- Convinced House Education and Labor Committee of dangers in proposed sections of Reporting and Disclosure Act, with IBT's suggested amendments being accepted.

- Created interest in Congress, in legal circles and among other students of constitutional rights and due process by citing Justice Department "pursuit" procedures in Hoffa cases, drawing strong support from both parties on both floors of Congress.

- Joined in strong—and thus far successful — opposition to bills threatening civil liberties—wiretap, "fifth amendment," and obstruction of justice.

- Sounded a strong case for a "meaningful" civil rights bill in testimony which already has brought some changes in Administration's policies.

- Offered thorough case for amending Davis-Bacon to include fringe benefits.

imposed on the union, the Teamsters legislative department quietly and thoroughly put the entire question in factual review, relating it to the basic issues of the rights of union members—or any American—to free choice and to be represented by an organization of their choice.

The response was electric. Thirty-six members of Congress took the floor to question whether Teamster members' rights were not being unconstitutionally trampled on by the prolonged, costly imposition of a court monitorship. Investigations were proposed.

These statements constituted a vital "shot in the arm" for the Teamsters' fight against the monitorship.

Five members of the House, representing both parties, and a Republican member of the Senate introduced bills to outlaw monitorships over labor unions. During hearings before the House Judiciary Committee on H.R. 11845, testimony for the anti-monitor measure was so overwhelming, some complained it was "rigged" in favor of the Teamsters. Lawyers, college professors, AFL-CIO union leaders joined members of both parties in Congress in support of the bill. A few months later, a federal court ordered the monitorship dissolved and a convention held.

Forum Shopping

2. When the Department of Justice maneuvered to set aside a case against Teamsters President James R. Hoffa in Florida and proceeded with other charges in the city of Nashville, Tenn., four Senators and eleven of the House—representing both parties—arose to denounce "forum shopping" by the Justice Department and questioned if Hoffa's constitutional rights were being ignored. Out of this floor bill ultimately emerged two proposed bills—S. 1801 and S. 1802—which would prevent "trial by press release" and would assure speedy trial in federal cases. These measures, introduced by Senator Wayne Morse, also would provide that indictments be prosecuted in the order they are returned. Hearings are being awaited on these bills.

3. When the Teamsters Union suddenly found itself unable to obtain bonding required under Landrum-Griffin—despite a remarkable performance record—a number of Congressmen arose to cite the unrealistic and dangerous conditions to which a union could be subjected under L-G. Only surety companies on the list of the Treasury Department could supply

such bonds, so foreign firms, like Lloyds of London, were excluded.

President Hoffa appeared before the House Labor Committee to explain the crisis. Rep. Roosevelt introduced bills to make bonding provisions of the labor law realistic, and hearings on these measures are being held as this goes to press. Meanwhile, the spotlight thrown by these members on Congress on the injustice involved resulted in the union obtaining necessary bonding.

Hoffa Testifies

Early in this session of Congress, President James R. Hoffa was sounding a warning on the threat of compulsory arbitration. He was in the role he occupied when he warned against the ultimate effects of Landrum-Griffin. And the AFL-CIO was in its same old complacent L-G role, with George Meany assuring his forces there would be no labor legislation this session.

As in the case of Landrum-Griffin, Hoffa again was right. For the first time in history, Congress passed a compulsory arbitration law in peacetime to force settlement of the railroad dispute.

Before this, however, Hoffa—reflecting the opposite of Meany's complacency—had scored an impressive defense against a permanent compulsory arbitration bill in maritime disputes during two days of testimony before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

His testimony on H. R. 1897 (Bonner Bill) was so effective as to prompt one member of the committee to say: "This bill is dead, Mr. Hoffa, and you killed it."

Time after time, Teamster testimony on bills affecting labor has had an obvious and telling impact on the course of legislation.

Zagri Testifies

In June, 1961, Legislative Counsel Zagri went before the House Education and Labor Committee to point out dangers and weaknesses of a proposed Reporting and Disclosure Act to protect union pension and health and welfare funds. For one thing, the measure as written would have given the Secretary of Labor a license for "fishing expeditions" investigation into such funds without cause. For another, the bill would have imposed financial hardships on unions with area or national funds. After Zagri's

testimony, his proposed amendments were written into the bill. One would require the Secretary of Labor to show "probable cause" for an investigation, the other would relieve unions with national or area funds from vast clerical operations in making reports.

Not all Teamster testimony on Capitol Hill is given in the heat of an immediate crisis. In April, 1961, Executive Vice President Gibbons submitted testimony to a House committee studying automation. He offered an insight into the problem which will have long-range influence as Congress continues to grapple with an awesome problem affecting all Americans. Gib-

Congresswoman Gives Advice To Housewives

Congresswoman Leonor K. Sullivan, Missouri Democrat, has come up with some good advice for DRIVE ladies and other union women interested in politics. Said Mrs. Sullivan:

"What Congress does, or fails to do, affects every American home in a multitude of ways. . .

"There can never be a situation in which there are too many women taking an active interest in political affairs.

Women have an obligation to become interested and active in politics.

"There is no better way to do one's part in making this a better country and a better world."

Mrs. Sullivan, a fifth-term member of the House of Representatives, said the political interest of women is most important because it helps to keep Congressmen alert to the issues.

bons' testimony was hailed as a classic presentation of the giant web of problems enveloping this burning question.

On the other hand, the Teamsters legislative department goes to Capitol Hill with testimony to produce immediate "bread and butter" benefits for workers. This was the case when Zagri struck a solid blow for an amendment (H.R. 404) to the Davis-Bacon Act, a law originally passed to assure a "prevailing wage" on federally assisted construction projects. Since then, fringe benefits have added

roughly 10 per cent to the total wages under union contracts. Non-union operators, thus, could undercut union operators under the law. H.R. 404 would include fringes in determining "prevailing wages." The bill is expected to pass this year, with continuing Teamster support.

General Legislation

While keeping a close check on legislation directly affecting Teamster members—and acting swiftly where necessary—the legislative department continues to give meaningful support to bills to benefit all Americans. Strong backing has been given:

—improvement in unemployment compensation benefits.

—medical care for the aged under Social Security.

—federal aid to education.

—improvements and liberalization of Social Security benefits.

Civil Rights

In testimony sharply critical of the Administration's stand and proposals on civil rights, Zagri urged a House subcommittee studying the bills to come up with "a meaningful measure" to meet the needs of the times.

The Teamster recommendations were hailed by Negro leaders, and a number of subsequent witnesses took up the theme.

Zagri also told the committee that the Administration had not been exercising authority it already held in combating discrimination in federally-financed projects. He maintained it already has power to withhold funds in such instances when there is clear evidence of discrimination.

Since his appearance, the Administration has moved to withhold funds in a number of cases to pressure against discrimination.

In sum, it has been a successful "four-year term" for the legislative department with the growing support of the DRIVE program. In many cases, it has been a "hold the line" battle, and the line has held.

As the BUSINESS WEEK article observed, ". . . the Teamsters may not be winning anything spectacular—observers say—but they're keeping down the score against them."

Starting from scratch and arrayed against the combine of a powerful Senate Committee, the "formal labor movement," a hostile Administration, a vindictive attorney general and an anti-Teamster press, the record has to be judged "remarkable."



If a "grass roots" movement is to grow, a constant flow of informational and educational materials are necessary.

DRIVE provides these to the local level through a continuing series of "action aids" which include pamphlets, brochures, flip chart, flyers and membership promotional materials.

The aids fall into these categories:

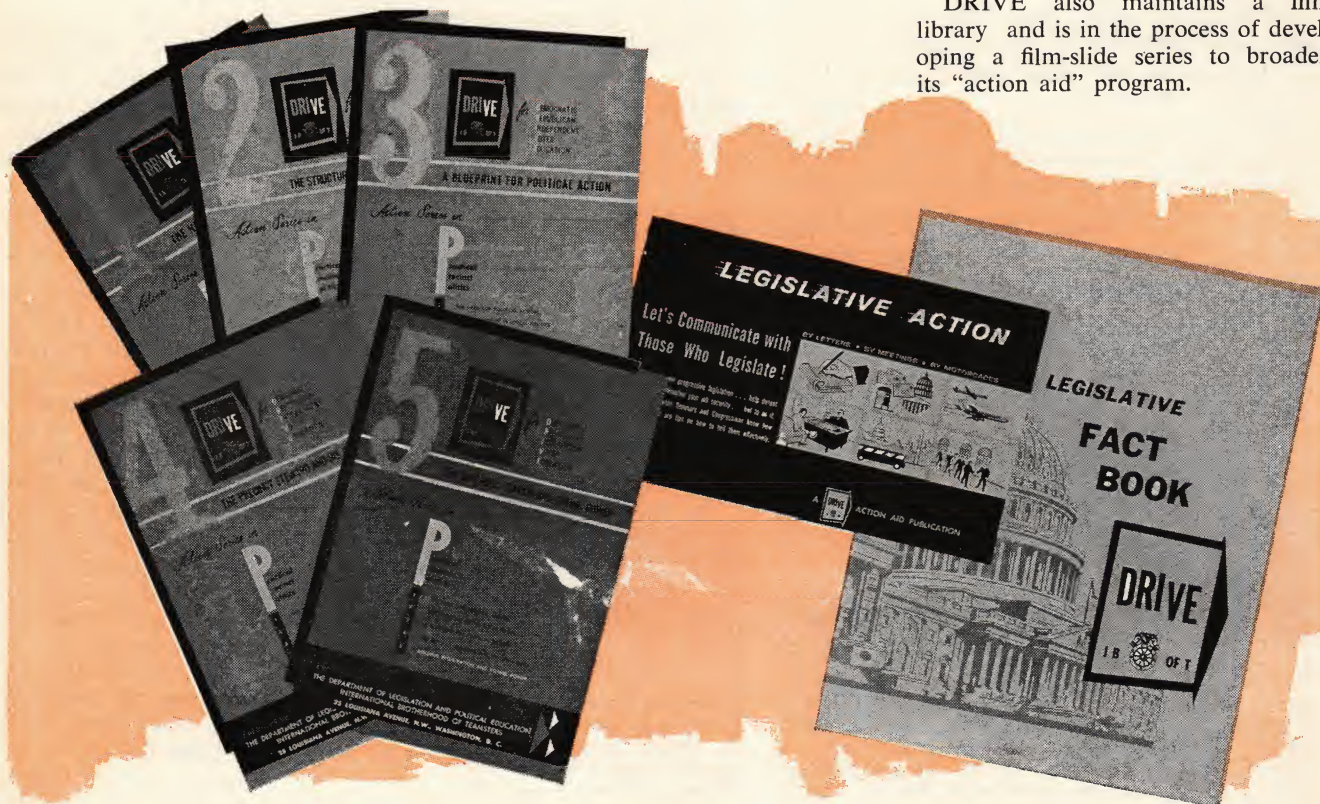
—Educational materials, designed to guide the organization of DRIVE units, train leaders and precinct stewards and outline discussion programs on issues.

—Informational pamphlets on issues and proposed bills, such as the Martin Bill and the Compulsory Arbitration measure.

—Inspirational booklets and flyers to build enthusiasm for the DRIVE program, explain how to make it work most effectively, encourage letter-writing and communications with legislators.

DRIVE also maintains a film library and is in the process of developing a film-slide series to broaden its "action aid" program.

"ACTION AIDS"



AN AMBITIOUS PROGRAM



DRIVE PLANS FOR FUTURE

DRIVE, on its Fourth Anniversary, knows where it is going and the program is ambitious, at a time when it is political suicide to make little plans.

Basically, DRIVE's goals for 1964 are:

1. An expanded membership drive.
2. Intensified fund-raising activity at officer, business agent, and rank-and-file levels.
3. An intensified voter registration and get out the vote programs.
4. Selected target areas where the likelihood of DRIVE gains are greatest and results can have importance to DRIVE objectives.

DRIVE's objectives are spelled out in its Declaration of Principles which are produced on a corresponding page

of this issue.

DRIVE started out a winner in its first Congressional election participation, with 58.8 per cent batting average on candidates. DRIVE supported 233 candidates for Congress. One-hundred thirty-seven were elected. DRIVE supported 19 senatorial candidates and 12 won. DRIVE supported 16 gubernatorial candidates. Nine were winners.

In 1962, DRIVE was successful in 71 per cent of its endorsements for the House of Representatives, 54 per cent in the Senate. DRIVE was 57 per cent successful in its gubernatorial endorsements. In 1962, DRIVE endorsed 40 Republicans out of a total of 170 endorsements, seven Republicans out of 31 endorsements in the Senate.

During the 1962 Congressional election, DRIVE began to effectively function on the grass roots level. Precinct organization was set up in joint councils and local unions. Membership lists were separated into precincts, with registration drives and get-out-the-vote drives following.

DRIVE conducted its first vote check, kicked off by Teamster President James R. Hoffa who stopped the first truck in Washington, D. C., and checked to see if the Teamster driver was registered to vote.

Business agents and Teamster officials across the country followed the lead, and under the slogan: "This Teamster Will Vote, Will You?" which was publicized with bumper stickers, DRIVE began taking its politics seriously.

In 1964, a Presidential election year, DRIVE plans to be even more effective, gaining force through increased membership as a result of the current major recruitment activity.

Too, as lines of communication are established, the dangers from the legislative front will become more clear to the rank-and-file member. Teamsters across the land will be aware, for example, that if either the proposal by Senator McClellan to put transportation unions under the anti-trust laws, or the Martin proposal to apply anti-trust generally to labor, should become law the labor movement will be out of business.

More and more Teamsters are learning the danger and are becoming convinced that the only way to fight back is through DRIVE.

In 1960, 12 families in the United States contributed more money to the

They're Pushing DRIVE



Local 779, Lexington, Kentucky, has an enviable DRIVE membership record. Pictured here are local union stewards who have signed up their shops 100 per cent. Left to right, Arthur Worsham, James Smith, Crawford Redden, IBT Vice President Frank Fitzsimmons, Robert McClenahan, Willie Curtis, Vernon Johnson, DRIVE Executive Director Sidney Zagri, Clyde Gilliam, David Brinkman, Elmo Hinson, William Branhan, Harold Lawson, Kenneth Lawson. Seated are Kenneth Silvers, DRIVE representative; Mrs. Silvers; Jessie DeuPree, president, Local 236; Rev. Phillips; Mrs. Phillips.

campaign than all of the 18 million members of organized labor. With DRIVE contributions of \$3—family contributions \$5—DRIVE is shooting for a \$3 million treasury for the 1964 campaign. With adequate financing and a well organized structure at the local level, DRIVE hopes for major success in 1964.

One of the highlights of the program for 1964 will be a nationwide Monthly Drive Meeting. At this meeting, Teamster President James R. Hoffa will speak to DRIVE members by nationwide telephone hookup. His message will go into every large city in America.

The monthly DRIVE Meeting will be in the big city nearest to you. If the adage that the best work is done by people who know each other, these monthly meetings will give you an opportunity to become acquainted with DRIVE members from other unions.

You will sing union songs with them. You will compete with them for 100 per cent DRIVE membership in your shop and in your local union.

At some of these Monthly DRIVE Meetings, you will hear from candidates who are seeking your votes. And at a climatic Monthly DRIVE Meeting, you will select the candidate for DRIVE support for the seat in Congress from your district.

Behind DRIVE

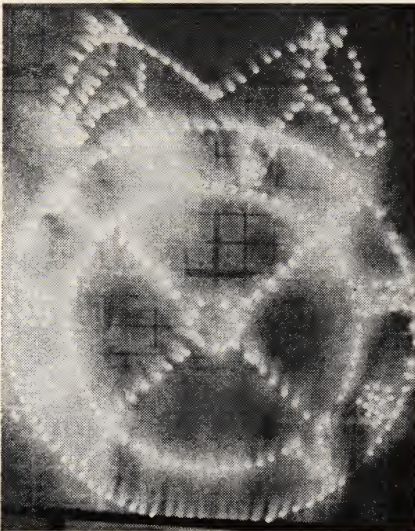
All DRIVE members automatically become members of the local precinct committee. It's in the precinct where elections are won or lost. The precinct committee will see that all Teamsters, Teamster wives, and their friends are registered to vote.

On election day, the precinct committee is charged with getting out the vote.

Every one does not wish to be a leader in politics. Every one will not want to be a leader in DRIVE. However, each precinct needs a DRIVE precinct steward. If you think you might qualify, if you think you could put in the time, if your wife is willing to keep the records, then you must consider joining one of the DRIVE leader training courses. Your DRIVE unit will soon be looking for volunteers for these leadership courses.

The officers of the Teamsters Union, from Jimmy Hoffa down to the shop steward, are 100 per cent behind the DRIVE program. President Hoffa has assumed responsibility for the success of DRIVE, and he is encouraging all officers and stewards

At the Fair



Fireworks 100 feet high created this sample of the Teamsters Union label observed by more than 25,000 people at the California State Fair in Sacramento on Labor Day night. In addition to the unusual team-and-wheel, the Teamsters name also showed up in the racing program where the 10th race was designated the "International Brotherhood of Teamsters" race. General Organizer Jack Goldberger and Harry Finks, legislative consultant, presented the winning trophy on behalf of the IBT.

to volunteer part of their time to DRIVE. Hoffa has frequently charged that what was won on the picket line must be defended by political action.

High on the agenda is a DRIVE Leader Training program at all levels

1000th Pensioner



Julius Hoerst (center), a long-time member of Teamster Local 807 in New York City and an employee of the White Rock Corp., retired recently and became the 1,000th pensioner of the NYC Trucking Industry Pension Fund. With Hoerst are Al Morgan (left), White Rock president, and John E. Strong, president of Local 807.

of the organization. Equally, the campaign for 100 per cent shop and local union membership in DRIVE is receiving top priority on the list of essential tasks for DRIVE officers.

National DRIVE has prepared a set of training aids. Each DRIVE agent will take the training course first. Then he will organize classes and train precinct leaders. The training course is completed in five sessions. It will be given two hours, one night a week, for five weeks.

Course materials to be used will include:

1. Practical Precinct Politics—a series of five pamphlets which show how to organize a precinct and get out the vote.

2. Let's Talk it Over—a booklet to help leaders conduct a discussion group which leads to new knowledge in politics.

3. Film strips and films on political organization.

4. Flip charts to summarize new material.

5. Pamphlets and Fact Sheets on the big issues of the day for use in discussion sessions.

DRIVE Heroes

There's an old Army adage that one doesn't volunteer for anything. But DRIVE agents will be looking for volunteers for these training courses. If he gets none, the Goldwaters, McClellans, Martins, the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce have an easy row to hoe in destroying the trade union movement in this country.

The heroes of the trade union movement today are those who battled on the picketlines against troops, police, scabs and strikebreakers to build the union to its present prominence. The heroes of tomorrow will be those who volunteer to be leaders in DRIVE and thus carry the political battle right to the steps of the nation's Capitol.

So you're not a leader! What can you do?

You should have a good idea of the union position on the important issues of the day. The *DRIVE Reporter* which goes with your \$3 contribution is the place to keep informed on the issues.

2. You can play a part in the membership campaign. Just as you approach a non-union worker to join the union, approach non-DRIVE union members to help make your

shop 100 per cent politically alert. Make your shop 100 per cent DRIVE.

3. Get registered to vote. Make it easy on your precinct committee.

4. Encourage your wife to become active in your local union or your joint council DRIVE Ladies Auxiliary.

The National Association of Manufacturers is at work to secure passage of anti-trust laws to apply to labor organizations. Here's their published time table for 1964:

1. Sponsorship of competitive contests among *high school students* offering awards for the best essay on "What Union Monopoly Power Means to America."

2. Recruitment as cohorts and '*idea salesmen and women*' by geographical areas and organizations.

3. Secure a sponsor and plan for a *TV Special*, focusing on the union monopoly problem and what it means to the nation.

4. Preparation of program materials for *Women's Clubs*.

5. Production of a *Speakers' Kit* for use by businessmen and other *opinion molders*.

6. Set up a group of *sympathetic journalists* to work in liaison with the NAM Center for the Study of Union Power.

7. Retain Opinon Research Corporation to *conduct new poll of public sentiment* regarding the need for control of union power.

8. A series of *two-day seminars for professors* and businessmen.

9. A *fully-documented movie* should be released.

10. A concerted effort should be made to *win the clergy*.

Already one item on the NAM's timetable has appeared. This is a *booklet published* openly by the NAM. It is called "Economic Implications of Union Power."

Are you one of those who thought it was all a scare campaign—one who thought it couldn't happen? Look at the record:

1. In 1947, we got the Taft-Hartley Act. Labor generally thought it wouldn't pass. It passed twice, once when it was sent to President Truman, and again when Congress over-rode Truman's veto.

2. In 1959, Landrum-Griffin made strikebreakers out of every union man and woman in the country. Some thought Hoffa's prediction that this would happen was a scare technique, but the recent National Labor Relations Board decision on "protection of rights" clauses has fulfilled Hoffa's prediction.

3. 1966 is the NAM target date for anti-trust laws for labor. Passage of those principles will destroy the labor movement.

The answer? Family Security through Family Teamwork. If Teamster families will become politically active through DRIVE, we can stem the tide. If not . . . ?

Hoffa Names Two Westerners As Organizers

Two Teamster officials from the Western Conference have been appointed general organizers by Teamster General President James R. Hoffa.

They are W. L. 'Bill' Williams, secretary-treasurer of Local 117, Seattle; and George Rohrer, secretary-treasurer of Local 190, Billings, Montana.

During the past year, Williams has served as acting chairman of the Western Warehouse and Produce Division. Rohrer was recently named to the National Over-the-Road and City Cartage Policy Committee. He will resign from that appointment.

Williams rates as an old-timer in the Teamster movement on the West Coast, being instrumental in activat-



Williams



Rohrer

New Acquaintances

Walter 'Buffalo' Harper, banquet waiter at the Palmer House, began working at that Chicago hotel when Jimmy Hoffa was a youngster organizing Teamsters in Detroit. Harper, a union member for 26 years, met Hoffa recently at the Central Conference of Teamsters banquet at the Palmer House. When not waiting banquets, Harper is active in the Old Timers Baseball Association, a life member, a carry over from younger days when he barnstormed with the old American Giants.



ing Warehousemen's Local 117, in Seattle, in 1935. Four years in the military service during World War II interrupted Williams' tenure as Local 117 business agent. He rejoined his union and became its chief administrative officer in 1947.

Rohrer came off of a sleeper cab in 1961 to become secretary-treasurer of Local 190, a position he has filled since. Later he served as a trustee and then secretary-treasurer of Joint Council 23 in Montana. Coming from employment in the craft, Rohrer has a broad knowledge of the motor freight hauling industry.

As an IBT general organizer, Williams will operate from headquarters in Seattle, Rohrer will carry out his assignment in the Rocky Mountain states area.

• Minneapolis Election

Nearly 100 workers at Metal-Matic, Inc., in Minneapolis recently voted by a 3-to-1 ratio to be represented by Teamster Local 970.

W. Va. Building Trades Urge Reaffiliation Of Teamsters

Teamsters Union readmission to the AFL-CIO was urged in a resolution passed by the West Virginia State Building & Construction Trades Council AFL-CIO convention Sept. 19-20.

The resolution, coming from a state with a fine trade union history, was an important addition to the list of those AFL-CIO affiliates advocating a single, united House of Labor.

The convention further resolved to present the reaffiliation resolution to the convention of the Building & Construction Trades Department AFL-CIO to be held at New York City in November.

A further resolution proposed to submit the reaffiliation suggestion to the West Virginia Labor Federation AFL-CIO convention in late October, asking the federation to approve and forward the resolution on to the AFL-CIO convention at New York City in November.

• Chemical Workers

Nearly 100 employees of the Frontier Chemical Co., in Newark, N.J., recently selected Teamster Local 575 over the Paint, Varish, and Allied Products Workers (AFL-CIO) in a National Labor Relations Board representation election.

The NLRB said 90 of 93 eligible voters cast ballots and that 79 of them were for the Teamsters while only 6 were for the opposing union. Five workers voted against union affiliation.

• Bay Area Contracts

Teamster local unions in the San Francisco bay area have signed a pair of area-wide contracts with employers.

Local Unions 70, 278, and 896 signed an agreement with the Bay Area Beverage Assn. The pact contains wage gains, a dental plan, and other fringe improvements.

Local Unions 78, 315, and 665 negotiated an area agreement with tire and rubber firms. The contract provides wage increases and increased health and welfare program benefits.

Both agreements were for 2 year periods.

Kiwanians Hear Warning of Big Government Encroachment

Teamster President James R. Hoffa told more than 2000 members of the Detroit Kiwanis Club last month that Americans are daily losing their constitutional liberties under the Kennedy Administration.

Hoffa put the Detroit businessmen next to reality by telling them that the wire tapping proposal sought by a "vindictive" attorney general "will perch Big Brother on your shoulder from the day you are born until the day you die."

The Teamster president called the tune of the attorney general for the Kiwanians, the day before Bobbie Kennedy and Senator McClellan began their version of the "untouchables" in the senate caucus room.

Hoffa predicted that Bobbie Kennedy would use the appearance of murderer, dope peddler and underworld character Joseph Valachi to plug for a wire tapping bill. The following day, Bobbie went before Congress and did just that.

Valachi has been found to be "mentally ill" by a psychiatrist.

Hoffa told the Detroit businessmen that the Kennedy administration makes political hay out of a 10 cent

hour tax cut for workers when automation is the problem. He pointed out that we are in a battle to save our constitutional liberties and congress is passing compulsory arbitration laws.

Of the vindictive mentality of Attorney General Bobbie Kennedy, Hoffa declared:

"Yesterday it was Hoffa, today it's Roy Cohn (former counsel to the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the next day it could well be you," he said in charging that Bobbie uses the office of the Department of Justice to "get" his enemies.

(It was personal differences with Roy Cohn—not Joe McCarthy—which led Bobbie to quarrel bitterly with Cohn and to resign from the McCarthy escapade.) (Roy Cohn, now a New York businessman, was recently indicted by the Justice Department.)

Hoffa called upon businessmen, unionists and the general public to take up the fight against government encroachment upon the personal lives of its citizens.

"Politicians understand only one thing—wires, letters and voices from people who can vote them out of office."

At the conclusion of his address to more than 200 Detroit Kiwanians, last month, Teamster General President James R. Hoffa was presented the "Distinguished Service Award" of that organization. Presentation of the award was made by Kiwanian Clarence E. Warmuth. Hoffa's address dealt with the continual encroachment of government under the Kennedy brothers upon the individual freedoms and constitutional rights of Americans.



THE GREAT CONVERSATION



DRIVE MOTORCADES ESTABLISH LINES OF COMMUNICATION

When Teamster wives across the nation took off their aprons and began 'motorcading' to Washington, the "Great Conversation" began.

The "Great Conversation" is the popular term in Washington for the lines of communication which have been created by Teamster 'motorcades' and 'aircades'—lines of communication which extend to the U.S. Capitol from cities and villages in Iowa, Arkansas, California, from the cities and hamlets of all states which have sent motorcades.

"Citizen statesmanship," is the way one prominent U.S. Senator has described the determination of Teamster wives to carry their story directly

to the offices of their congressional delegation in Washington.

Senator Hubert Humphrey, majority whip in the Senate, in referring to these visits to Congressmen, had a more practical description: "Best job in Washington in years," he declared.

As DRIVE reaches its fourth year of being, almost 2,000 Teamster wives will have made the trip to Washington to participate in the "Great Conversation." They will have represented 23 states.

To illustrate how the motorcade program works, let's follow a typical project from hometown to the Capitol steps.

One of the first projects a DRIVE

Ladies Auxiliary gets to thinking about after being formally organized is a motorcade to Washington. The highly successful series of "Jo Hoffa Lunches" generated enthusiasm for such projects.

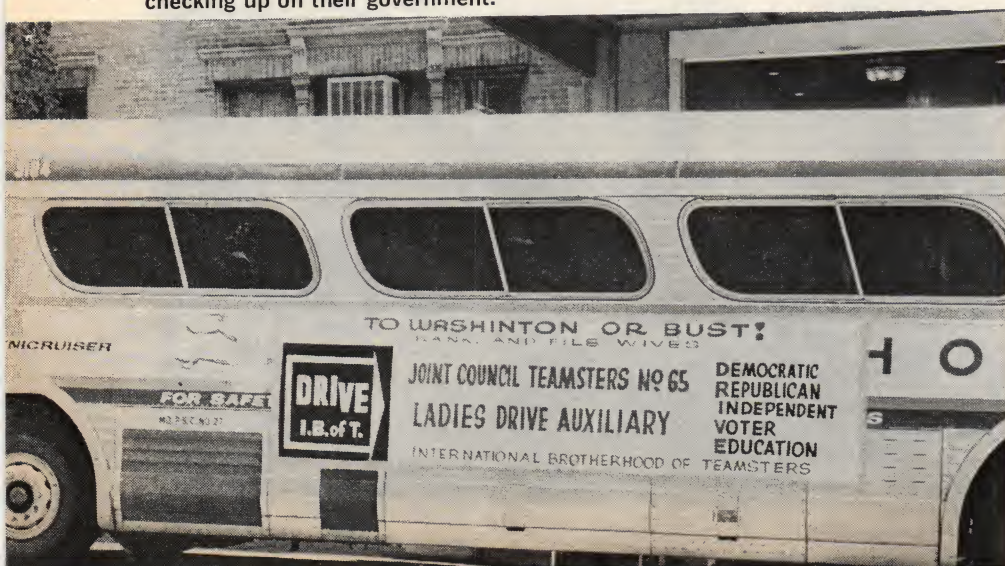
Once the ladies decide they are ready to undertake the task, the first step is to determine how it will be financed. In many instances, the Auxiliary conducts a series of fund-raising events. Behind many of the ladies' interviews in Congress are many hard hours of work in cake bakes, raffles, barbecues and other money-raising events. These in themselves tend to promote a strong bond between the members.

The money in hand, the Auxiliary contacts the national DRIVE office, which arranges for accommodations, sets up interviews with Congressmen from the motorcade area and makes plans for entertaining the visitors.

Now the ladies are ready to board the bus. For many, making the trip means arranging for baby-sitters. Husbands suddenly find they're in the kitchen, getting up to prepare bottles or doing other housewively chores.

The big day arrives and the ladies board their bus. En route to the nation's capital, there are songfests. A number of snappy union songs have

Just after arrival at a Washington, D. C. hotel. Signs on DRIVE motorcade bus tell the world that 40 wives from Joint Council No. 65 in Illinois are in town checking up on their government.



The International Teamster



Charter Presented



Picketing White House



Talking to Congressman



Vote Check

developed from these cross-country sing-alongs, when the ladies tell the driver, "You drive the bus, and leave the singing to us."

Usually, time of arrival for a motorcade in Washington is Sunday noon. Once the ladies are unpacked and settled in their motorcade hotel home, an afternoon seminar begins to familiarize the ladies with the issues. On Monday morning, the ladies' rigorous three-day operation begins at a 7:30 a.m. "briefing breakfast."

Here, Legislative Counsel Sidney Zagri reviews in detail each bill the women will be discussing with their Congressmen. He explains carefully the Teamsters' position on the measures and supports this with bread-and-butter facts on why that position is important to the individual Teamster member.

The ladies already have been given legislative fact sheets providing a thorough background on each issue.

The contingent is broken up into teams of ladies to call on their respective Congressmen. A spokesman is chosen, and she leads off with questions. A recording secretary will make a record of the Congressman's answers.

One point is stressed in the ladies' approach to the interviews: No member of Congress is obliged to favor or oppose their views, but the member of Congress is obligated to tell his constituents where he stands on the issues in question.

After the morning round of interviews, the ladies have a luncheon in the Capitol with members of their Congressional delegation invited. Then, more interviews are undertaken in the afternoon.

Monday night, some special event is planned—one of the most popular has proved the moonlight boat excursion down the Potomac.

Tuesday morning proves to be a highlight of the trip. Teamster General President James R. Hoffa is the feature speaker at Tuesday breakfast (unless his busy schedule takes him out of town). In the event that President Hoffa cannot attend, another top level International Union representative takes his place at the breakfast.

There are more interviews on Tuesday, but usually part of this day is set aside for seeing some of the area's historical landmarks, and perhaps a luncheon is arranged at one of the outlying country inns.

At a banquet, Tuesday night, the team spokesmen make their reports. The ladies report on the replies given by the members on Congress on each issue. These "report back" sessions have been highly successful and generate enthusiasm for political action on returning home.

These reports serve "double-duty" in the over-all DRIVE program. A master tabulation of stands of congressmen and senators on the issues is compiled in the National DRIVE office from these reports. When the tabulation is completed, DRIVE has a working knowledge of strong and weak spots in the congressional make-up.

Back home, the ladies use the reports at coffees and other meetings which they arrange in their homes. The attitude of their particular congressional delegation on the issues becomes an integral part of the "Great Conversation."

On the grass roots level, motorcade participants are able to give a first-hand report on how congressional attitudes have a definite bearing on individual family economic security.

Wednesday is "wrap-up" day, with the ladies winding up their visits, and they have some free time to shop or look around Washington. In the afternoon, it's back to the bus for the trip home.

It's a wiser and more enthusiastic band of ladies returning home. They're still singing, but they're doing some thinking, too, about how they can keep the "Great Conversation" alive with their representatives.

Back home, they'll plan follow-up meetings to report to Teamster families on what they learned in Washington, how their Congressmen stand on issues.

Then the DRIVE Ladies Auxiliary members get down to work, planning letter-writing campaigns, voter registration drives and other community action. They will look ahead to their

Congressman's next visit home and perhaps invite him to lunch. They'll let him know, in any event, that they're busy in politics. If he supports the Teamster position on issues, this is good news for all; if he doesn't, he'll be doing some thinking.

Members of Congress have been mightily impressed by the knowledge and the enthusiasm of the Teamster visitors. One has estimated each motorcading Teamster wife, with her informed position and enthusiasm, might influence 500 votes in his district.

Another has said one Teamster wife is worth 10 men in politics. A colleague went him five times better and said he'd prefer one Teamster wife working for him than 50 men.

With that kind of respect in Washington, it is small wonder the ladies who left their aprons behind to lobby in their nation's capital have proved an amazing success.

The "Great Conversation" they have started between Capitol Hill and the grass roots will be producing benefits for Teamster members for years to come.

Because of the "Great Conversation" congressional delegations will have a better understanding of grass roots attitudes. Equally important, congressional delegations are beginning to know where a huge bloc of voters back home stand on the issues.

In Washington, Teamster wives conversed with their senators and congressmen face to face. How much easier and satisfying it is now to write letters to senators and congressmen, having met them, than it was before when the ladies were merely writing to a name.

And most important of all, having met and talked with the congressional delegation in Washington, there's substance to the "Great Conversation" which the ladies carry on at home in their neighborhoods.

For Teamster wives, politics is no longer small talk. Significantly, politicians in Washington are aware that Teamster wives are carrying on the "Great Conversation."

Remember Crystal City

"Remember the Alamo!" has long been the rallying call for Texans at large.

But to the huge Mexicano population of the Lone Star State the cry "Remember Crystal City" is the rallying slogan which has awakened them like a sleeping giant in the political picture in Texas.

Last April, a slate of Crystal City Mexicanos swept an all-Anglo slate out of city office, and the key to success was organization.

Lending an organizational hand was politically conscious Teamster Local No. 657 in San Antonio



Cornejo

which has a large membership at a Crystal City cannery. Local 657 has been one of the leaders in the Teamster DRIVE program, and its president, Ray Shafer, led a poll tax drive in Crystal City among Teamster members that overwhelmed an incumbent and comfortable city council of Anglos.

Today, reform is the key word in Crystal City. Mayor Juan Cornejo and the Council hired a

San Antonio city engineer to serve as city manager. Said the new city manager:

"A good deal of the city's vehicles and heavy equipment were inoperative. I couldn't find personnel records or regulation. There were no maps showing sewer, water and gas lines and storm drains. The old administration apparently kept all this in their heads."

The city budget was askew. A high property tax rate had yielded only \$56,000 a year because of low assessments, notably on property owned by Anglos. Four times as much revenue came from water rates, so that nearly as much of the city's upkeep fell on a poor man as on a rich man, if he consumed as much water.

The new city administration is pursuing a program of fiscal reform, street paving and lighting, sewer system extension, repair of leaky gas lines, and a \$4 million urban renewal program encompassing most of the community.

Among the Teamster membership at the Crystal City cannery, a militant and alert DRIVE Ladies Auxiliary has sprung up. Despite moves and counter-moves to unseat the Mexicano city council, Juan Cornejo and his council push ahead to modernize city government in Crystal City.



Shafer

There are some 4 million unmobilized Mexicanos in the great Texas Southwest. They have become restive at a time when Negroes in America are on the march for their rights.

And as they stir and begin to awake from a long political sleep, they turn to the example of Crystal City, where DRIVE, the political arm of the Teamsters, scored one of its largest victories to date.

For Information on **DRIVE** Mail Coupon Today

TO: 25 Louisiana Ave. N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Brother Hoffa:

I would like to know more about DRIVE's program, about voter registration, about precinct organization, about the voting records of candidates, and I would like to know how I may become active in DRIVE or DRIVE's Ladies Auxiliary. Please have a DRIVE representative call on me.

LOCAL UNION No. _____

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

FIFTY YEARS AGO

in Our Magazine



Vol. X

(From the October, 1913, issue of the TEAMSTER)

Number 10

Labor's Solidarity



Wherever the banner of civilization has been unfurled you will find modern industry in some stage of its development and organizations of the workers trying to better their conditions. Not confined by any boundary lines of nations the workers of the world are advancing in solid ranks toward their emancipation.

It matters not that they may be persecuted and their paths made rough and rocky, and that in some countries all the powers of government are called into fight to crush them, onward they march. Called into being by the desire of mankind to better its condition, as well as a desire for world betterment, which could not be satisfied in any other way, and ever urged on by modern industry, the movement receives increased momentum at every fresh assault.

Pay Your Union Debts

Anyone who has given thought to the necessity for trade unions as a barrier to protect the workers from unscrupulous employers, especially the man who is a member of trade union, must admit that a trade organization is first of all a business proposition, and to be successful in carrying out the purposes of those who are enrolled as members, must be conducted upon business principles.

There is no institution on earth which pays such big dividends as a trade union, through its efforts in raising wages and shortening the workday, and in spite of the fact that this is known to all, men who should and do know better, persist in lagging behind in this important duty (of paying their dues and assessments promptly).

If you are one of the "grouches" that have fallen

Profits is one end of industry, wages the other, and wherever we find these we find the need of labor organizations. Unions form the bulwark behind which the workers fight collectively for their rights. Labor as such recognizes neither creed, color, race or nation, but wherever the brain and muscle of man, woman or child is required to create wealth or aid in the development of land or industry, there it stands organizing and educating that there may be better conditions.

It is an encouraging thought that, no matter what difficulties we may encounter in our efforts to organize our fellow-workers in this country, we are not alone in the fight. Men and women are striving just as conscientiously in other sections of the world, making the same efforts and reaping the same rewards with the same ultimate object in view. And it is in this internationality of labor's interests that our chief hope for the future lies. As the education and organization of the workers of other countries progresses so the field narrows for the exploiters of cheap labor.

into this habit, for it is a habit and nothing else, get rid of it at once by resolving to keep yourself in good standing in your union, and once you become accustomed to having your dues paid at the first meeting in every month you will wonder why you did not pursue this course from the time you assumed the responsibility of membership, and as a result your union and yourself will appreciate each other far more than either of you thought could be possible.

You will also be agreeably surprised to learn what a fine personality the financial secretary is when you cultivate his acquaintance by meeting him regularly every month when you pay your dues and any other financial obligation which rests upon you.

TEAMSTER'S ELECTED CONVENTION DELEGATES

We are glad to announce that our General Auditor, Brother Briggs, was elected unanimously by the Chicago Federation of Labor as a delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention, to be held in Seattle, Wash., opening November 10. Also, Brother Fenton, secretary-treasurer of Local 68, Coal Teamsters of Boston, was elected by the Massachusetts State branch of the A.F. of L. as a delegate to the same convention, and Vice President L. A. Grace was elected a delegate to the same convention to represent the Providence Central Labor Union.

This is indeed a distinguished honor to the men themselves and a credit to our general organization to have those important labor organizations elect these brothers to the important position of delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention.

We tender our brothers mentioned above our congratulations.

Labor the Life of the Race

The emancipation of labor is essential to the freedom of humanity. The struggle for freedom is the history of the race; the fruit of the struggle, the development of man.

There can be no freedom while workers are in fetters. Wage servitude is fatal even to the true freedom of its most favored capitalistic beneficiaries. They may be surfeited with gold and power, but they are not free. They cannot sever the ties that bind them to their slaves and soar along into the realms of freedom. It is written in the moral law with "iron pen in the lead and rock forever" that whosoever enslaves his fellow-man forges fetters for himself.

An awakening proletariat is pulsing with solidarity and turning its eyes towards the sunrise. Scarred and seamed are its rough and hardened features, and grim its determination, but no just man on earth need fear it. It has suffered a million crimes, but is animated by no spirit of revenge. *Eugene Debs*

Editorials

The following editorial appeared in the Cleveland Press of recent date:

"Why," asks the writer, "are seven and a quarter million American men between the ages of twenty and forty-four, and seven million women between twenty and forty-four, unmarried?"

"Figures show that between twenty and fifty the unmarried man stands two chances of dying to the married man's one chance—probably due to the latter's greater regularity of habit.

"Figures also show that, in spite of perils of childbirth, wives between thirty and eighty have a third better chance for life than women unwed.

"What's the answer?"

The answer is as follows:

The reason for so many millions of unmarried people is simply this: That the expense of living is so great and the wages so low that young men find it impossible to maintain a home and family on present salaries.

Organized labor has been fighting for a betterment of conditions, especially for the young rising generations in order that the world may go on as it ought to go on, progressing through the ages to come, but organized capital has been fighting to destroy the labor unions and, indirectly also, destroying our American institutions, especially the home.

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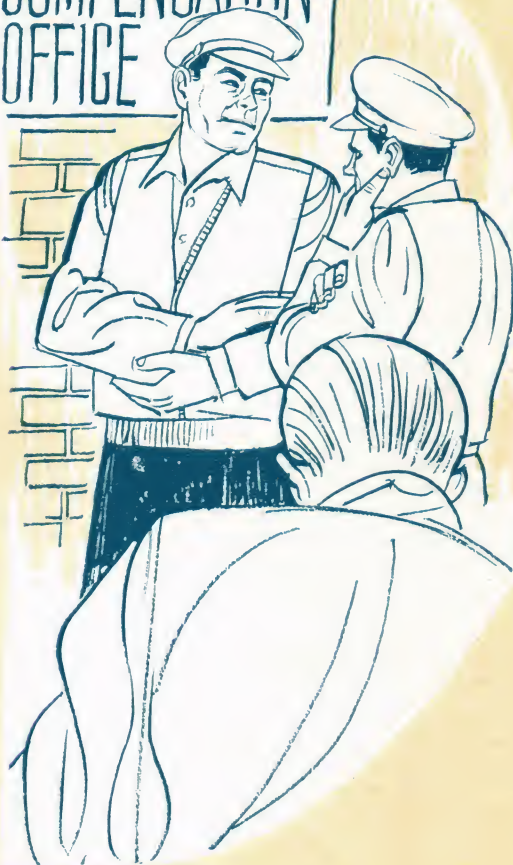
This or This?



**Have you done your part
to protect what you have?**

(See your shop steward, or call your local union office. Membership: \$5 per year family membership (\$3 individual)—the cheapest but best insurance you can buy to protect what you have—home, high standard of living, job security, health and pension benefits!)

UNEMPLOYMENT
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NOW!

Family Security Through Family Teamwork